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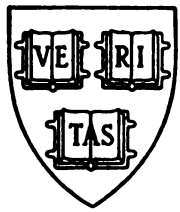

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LIFE OF FREDERICK LUCAS.

THE LIFE

OF

FREDERICK LUCAS, M.P.

BY HIS BROTHER

EDWARD LUCAS

Second Edition

IN TWO VOLUMES

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Book the First.

LUCAS IN LONDON.

CHAPTER I.

FREDERICK LUCAS—EARLY MANHOOD.

No apology is necessary in presenting to the public a memoir of a man who played so considerable a part in English Catholic affairs as did Frederick Lucas. If any apology were needed it would be, not for the matter of the memoir, but for the lateness of its appearance. Mr. Riethmüller, the author of the only biographical sketch of the founder of the *Tablet* which has appeared, not unreasonably complains that it should have been left to him, a Protestant, to pay a last tribute of respect to the memory of one who had fought so hard for the Catholic Church, and for the interests of the Catholic religion in this country. I take the opportunity of my first leisure to supply, to the best of my ability, a deficiency which appears to me to have been but imperfectly met by Mr. Riethmüller's small volume. The earlier portion of Frederick Lucas's life, down to the time of his conversion, has indeed been sufficiently described in the affectionate and sympathetic narrative of one who was his fellow-student at University College, and who was very intimate with him for many years. But an ever-widening

divergence of views between the two friends, which dated from the time of my brother's conversion, has unfortunately led to many misconceptions in Mr. Riethmüller's necessarily incomplete sketch of Frederick Lucas's career as a Catholic.

Though I do not propose to give a detailed history of his earlier life, it will be right to mention some circumstances connected with it. He was born on the 30th of March 1812. His father, Mr. Samuel Hayhurst Lucas, was a corn merchant in the city of London, and both parents were members of the Society of Friends. He spent eight years at a Quaker school at Darlington, and in his seventeenth year became a student at University College, London, then recently established. The following sketch, which I take from Mr. Riethmüller's volume, will set Lucas before the reader as he was in youth and early manhood.

"Though extremely shy at this period, as might have been expected from his having hitherto been confined to a narrow circle, there was something singularly engaging in his look and manner. With a remarkably fair complexion, a cheek glowing with health, a broad, open forehead, very light hair and eyebrows, and eyes of the clearest blue, there was such an expression of intelligence and frank good-nature about the whole countenance, as could not fail to inspire a friendly interest in all who saw him. His figure was large beyond his years, very stout, broad-shouldered and broad-chested, and gave the impression of rude health

and vigour. His smile was the sweetest; his laugh the most exhilarating, that I have met with; and the shyness mentioned above soon wore off in the company of young men, and was replaced by an easy gaiety of demeanour that was delightful to all his associates. Long afterwards, however, he remained silent and reserved in the presence of strangers, and seldom addressed a lady without blushing. There was, indeed, a bashfulness, an almost girlish modesty about him, which strikingly contrasted with the strength and manliness of his character, and with that dauntless courage for which he was at all times distinguished. When he began to speak, he at once commanded attention. Even at that early age he had acquired a large amount of miscellaneous knowledge, and had learned to express original views in fluent and forcible language. But his conversation was, perhaps, chiefly characterised by a constant flow of rich and genial humour, which held on its course so naturally, and with so little effort, that the listener was carried away imperceptibly by it, and caught the joyous contagion almost before he was aware of it.

"In the usual studies of the place, he soon gave proof of his talents and industry, and took a respectable position in all the classes he attended; but from the first, these studies formed but a small portion of his various pursuits and occupations. He was always a great reader, and had a wonderful facility in getting at the pith of a book in the shortest possible time. His tastes were multi-

farious, almost universal. He read indiscriminately, and with insatiable appetite, history and poetry, theology and metaphysics, sermons, grave treatises, orations, and political discussions, besides all the novels and romances, good or bad, that came within his reach. He had no marked liking for pure mathematics, but was quite able to apprehend and appreciate the truths of science. Though he had seen but few works of art, he showed a remarkable capacity for judging of the beauty and merit of such productions, and in his boyish visits to the Royal Academy and other collections of pictures in London, his criticisms were always original, and often just and striking. He had no gift of music, but understood the associations connected with it, and could be deeply affected by a grand and solemn performance. When he had once visited the theatre—a pleasure denied to his childhood by the religious scruples of the body to which he belonged—the drama became a passion; the more so, perhaps, that it still had the flavour of forbidden fruit. Nor was he by any means deficient in the love for manly sports and athletic exercises, and he availed himself of all the opportunities for such recreations that lie within the reach of a London youth. Boating on the river, bathing, cricket, were amongst his favourite amusements; and some few may yet remember the heartiness with which he entered into these pastimes, and the spirit of exuberant enjoyment with which he partook of

them. Thus richly endowed, and with so many agreeable qualities, it is no wonder that Lucas was generally popular with his fellow-students."

Lucas, naturally, took a leading part in the debating society which then flourished—and perhaps still flourishes—at University College; and, as Mr. Riethmüller tells us, was a contributor to more than one of the ephemeral periodicals to which the College, in its early days, gave birth.

From College he betook himself to the legal profession, keeping his terms in the Middle Temple; and he was called to the Bar in 1835. As a lad he had devoted the most eager attention, not merely to passing political events, but to those principles of government by which, as he rightly conceived, all such events must be judged; and his legal studies led him to plunge deeply into those fundamental questions of ethics which lie at the basis of all law. Again I quote Mr. Riethmüller:—

"As soon as he began to read about law, he endeavoured, with his usual passion for generalisation, to consider it as a complete science, and sought to evolve great principles from the mass of details before him. This led him necessarily to the leading writers on jurisprudence, and especially to the works of Bentham. It would hardly be credited by those who only knew him at a later period, to what an extent he was influenced by these works. It was not only the laborious attempt to classify the most complex of subjects,

which charmed him by its ingenuity and apparent completeness, but he found there a theory of morals, that seemed to have a strange fascination for him. Wholly opposed to all his subsequent views, the *Utilitarian Scheme*, as it was called—or, in other words, the doctrine of enlightened selfishness as the sole rule in the conduct of life—appeared to him for a while the most unanswerable wisdom. He applied it to law, to government, to history, to politics; and proved, with a provoking complacency, that the true interest of the individual man was in every instance identical with the greatest interest of the greatest number. Himself the most unselfish of human beings, he argued in defence of a theory which his own practice was every moment refuting, and this from no love of paradox, but from a sincere conviction of the truth of what he advanced. . . . His friends used laughingly to tell him, that he would one day sacrifice himself to self-interest, and die at the stake to prove the absurdity of martyrdom." [1]

This phase of his mental life did not, however, last long, and he attributed to the poet Wordsworth the inspiration which enabled him to throw aside the trammels of a system as entirely out of harmony with his nature as it is false in itself.

"The English sceptical philosophers," says Riethmüller, "from Hobbes to David Hume, were well known to him. [But] of all the metaphysicians properly so called, who had hitherto enthralled or

[1] Riethmüller, p. 19.

bewildered him with daring hypotheses, one only kept a permanent hold upon him, and that was Berkeley. Long after . . . he never mentioned him but with tenderness and respect, and often acknowledged his own obligations to him."

Another quotation from his earlier biographer I must allow myself before proceeding to speak of my brother's conversion ; at that point, I shall have almost entirely to part company with Mr. Riethmüller. Speaking of Lucas's life in Chambers, he says :—

"The ties formed at the University had not been broken on leaving it. The little knot of attached and confiding associates, of which Lucas had been the centre, was dispersed, from time to time, by business, travel, or the other accidents of life—but its members remained true to the old bond of union, and for years it was an understood thing amongst them, that whoever happened to be in London should spend Saturday evening together. These gatherings took place under different roofs, but one spot was especially consecrated to them—a set of chambers in Garden Court, Temple, overlooking the river, and then occupied by two very dear friends. There, in an atmosphere redolent of cigars and coffee, many pleasant hours were passed in the unrestrained converse of congenial minds, sufficiently alike for sympathy, yet sufficiently opposed for animated discussion. No one was ever present on those occasions who can forget the warmth and light which Lucas diffused over the scene. His

flow of spirits was irresistible, and his very look a gleam of sunshine, while the freshness and originality of his views, on almost every subject, impressed the most careless listener with a sense of his intellectual power.

"Often, in summer-time, the weekly meetings at chambers would be exchanged for excursions into the country, and here Lucas was equally in his element. An untiring pedestrian, though, like Falstaff, 'he larded the lean earth as he walked along,' he could always beguile the way with a thousand pleasant fancies, and revive the drooping courage of weary or hungry companions. And when, after a long day's journey, the goal was reached at last, in the shape of some roadside inn, which promised rest and refreshment, if insufficient food or accommodation disappointed the hopes of the wayfarers, his unfailing good-humour made light of every difficulty, while his unconquerable energy prevailed over all the scruples of sulky landlord or unwilling landlady, and called forth the latent resources of the establishment in a manner wonderful to behold."[1]

I have now to speak of the great change of mind and heart which led to my brother's reception into the Catholic Church. Born in the Society of Friends, Lucas knew absolutely nothing of the Catholic Church till the year 1837, when his attention was first drawn to the subject by an article on Cathedral Establishments in the

[1] Riethmüller, p. 25.

Quarterly Review. To the ordinary reader this article contains nothing to lead a man towards Catholicism. But to Lucas it opened the way to an unknown region; it suggested a new class of ideas, a new train of thought and investigation, which were stimulated by the Oxford movement, and, as he tells us, by the unsatisfied longing for religious certainty. But he made no conscious progress till near the beginning of 1839. Early in that year, in some conversations with Mr. T. C. Anstey, afterwards member for Youghal, the truth flashed upon his mind, and in less than a week he had satisfied himself that with the Catholic Church alone is lodged Divine authority on earth. In this conviction he never wavered; and it is related of him by those who were best able to judge, that, although some very deep questions came before him for discussion, he never from the moment of his conversion propounded a single principle at variance with Catholic doctrine. He was received by Father Lythgoe, of the Society of Jesus, and thus describes, in simple and touching words, the process through which he had gone, and the peaceful security of the haven which he had reached:—

"As a child who has lost himself, he knows not where, far from home, returns weeping and weary to his mother's breast, so after long wandering in darkness, seeking for truth, but finding no rest because I could find no certainty, I have at length come, tired out with profitless labour, to

find repose and consolation within that temple, whose eternal gates are ever open to invite the weary and erring pilgrim to enter in. . . . I have accepted the invitation; I have entered in; and within I have found, not the mutilated limbs of truth, but the glorious virgin herself, in all her celestial radiance."[1]

Anxious that his friends should share his happiness, he published a pamphlet (from which this quotation is taken), addressed to the Society of Friends, and entitled "Reasons for Becoming a Roman Catholic."

Before doing so, however, he sent in to the constituted authorities of that Society the following letter resigning his membership:—

"*To Kingston Monthly Meeting of Friends.*

"35 SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE,
2/18, 1839.

"DEAR FRIENDS,—Having been received some weeks ago, through the Sacrament of Baptism, into the Catholic Church, I think it right to inform you of the circumstance, and at the same time to request you to accept the resignation of my membership in the Society of Friends. In order to save trouble, I may add, that the strong conviction which alone has led me to adopt my present course, entirely precludes the probability of my retracing the step I have taken. I cannot without painful feelings quit the Society in which I have been born and educated, and the good report of whose members I am anxious to possess. I feel the separation the more, as it is for the purpose of joining a Church, the creed and discipline of which are so completely disapproved by those whose communion I am leaving.

[1] Reasons for Becoming a Roman Catholic, p. 98, 1st ed.

"At the same time, it is with me a matter of thankfulness that of all the religious bodies at variance with the Catholic Church, my birth and education have been in the one from which I am now disuniting myself. The reasons which have guided me in taking this step I cannot fitly enter upon here, but I hope, in the course of a short time, to submit them, in a printed form, to the candid consideration of my friends. It would be insincere in me to deny or conceal the strong sense I entertain of the importance of the doctrines of the Catholic Church to the well-being of mankind—and I cannot express my anxiety for the lasting interests of the members of the Society of Friends more forcibly, than by saying that I desire they, as well as myself, may become members of that Church which I believe can alone efface the unhappy divisions of Christendom, and restore the primitive unity in Christian faith and discipline.—I remain, your very sincere friend,

"F. LUCAS."

He had not sought the truth among the conflicting opinions of the religious sects, nor in any alternative propositions, for he knew that it was not to be found among societies every one of which repudiated alike the certainty and the authority of which he was in quest. To him Pyrrhonism in philosophy was absurd, and in religion something intolerable. He knew that without certainty there could be no worship; and that without the conscious reference to the Divine Being of our daily life, worship must be a sham or an hypocrisy.

Addressing, then, the friends whom he had left, he told them that he recognised in the Quaker system, as at first propounded, "one of the profoundest principles of all theology, namely, that that must be a strange scheme of revelation,

which leaves the blinded human intellect, and the perverse human will, at liberty to examine, to criticise, to adopt, or to reject at pleasure." But a great schism which had recently taken place in the Society proved that the principle of unity, so essential a characteristic of the Church of Christ, could not result from the Divine Inspiration acting directly on the mind of each individual, according to the Quaker theory. And when a leading member endeavoured to answer the objection by saying, that he "would not venture to set limits to the sovereign freedom, scope, and variety of Divine operation, and that, according to the experience of certain Friends, the Spirit of Truth would never lead the followers of Christ astray," Lucas answered, "I see; the Holy Spirit may reveal different and even contradictory things to different minds; only, as these opposite revelations come from an infallible source, they must both be true."[1] And he went on to show that the argument was equally applicable to the contradictory theories of the various sects, including the Anglican Church, in which the principle of unity has no existence.

His conversion led some of the most intimate among his Quaker friends to refuse to hold intercourse with him. This he did not quite understand.

It seemed remarkable to him, in this connection, that people who maintained the theory of indi-

[1] Reasons, p. 103.

vidual inspiration should deny its operation in his own case. And the more so because Quakerism was, in its origin, no revolt against the Catholic Church. It had taken its rise out of Protestantism. The early Friends, as he points out, "saw the monstrous absurdity of subjecting the revelations of God to the petty criticism of man's understanding. They saw that in this matter of religion there could be but two parts—God the teacher, teaching with authority; man the taught, receiving and learning with submission."[1]

I do not know that the falling off of the friends above referred to caused him any prolonged pain; for the change of religion did not alter in the least his relations with his own immediate family, with every one of whom he was a prime favourite. And outside the family he soon found others to take the place of the friends he had lost.

I have undertaken the task before me with a keen sense, not only of the difficulty of biography in general, but also of a tendency to partiality beyond that which besets the biographer of one whose memory is less dear to him than is that of Frederick Lucas to myself. However, this tendency I shall in some measure guard against by allowing the subject of this memoir as far as possible to speak for himself. I propose to let him draw his own portrait: he will thus be seen in his true colours; his virtues he will make apparent; his defects he cannot hide; nor shall I attempt

[1] Reasons, p. 4.

to conceal them. For an overmastering love of truth may be said to have been his ruling passion, and he would be as ready to admit his faults as St. Augustine himself. I conceive, therefore, that he would not thank me for holding him up to public view at all, should I endeavour to present him other than he was.

Though, however, as far as the nature of the case will allow, I shall leave my brother to be his own biographer, I may be permitted at the outset to present the reader with such an outline of his character, as may serve in some degree to set the man before the mind's eye of a generation too young for the most part to have any personal recollection of him.

He was a devout Christian, one who, amidst the turmoil of a very busy life, practised the duties of his religion with rigid exactness, and its counsels to a degree which those only knew who enjoyed his most intimate acquaintance. His charity was very remarkable, and manifested itself not only in an eager promptness to spend his limited means and all the powers of his mind in the service of the poor, whom he loved as the especial friends of Christ; but also in a readiness to find excuses even for those whose acts seemed little capable of palliation, and in an entire absence of personal ill-will (so far as his most intimate friends could judge) against those who injured or calumniated him. His almsgiving was ever characterised by the lavishness of a man who cared little for

money; of whom it might truly be said, "he did not go after gold, nor put his trust in riches and treasures."

Having no personal ends to serve, he feared not the frowns of the great, and courted their smiles only so far as they themselves might be instrumental in furthering the interests of the Church, of justice, and of the poor. This being so, his advocacy was naturally intrepid; his only fear was for the success of the cause he had espoused, and lest it should suffer through any remissness on his part. Though, in the legitimate sense of the words, he was no respecter of persons, yet he was not of those who despise "order and degree." On the contrary, he regarded the social hierarchy as part of an order established by Divine Providence. When, therefore, he spoke or wrote, in any strong terms, against certain men and certain local classes, his indignation was against the injustice, the oppression, and cruel harshness of which he held them guilty, not against their rank or legitimate privileges. Oppression of the poor he had learned from his catechism to be one of the four things that cry to Heaven for vengeance.

The denunciations and even vituperations to which he sometimes gave utterance against such oppressors are, then, to be attributed, not to any vulgar delight in abusing opponents, nor even to any sanguine expectation of moving the hearts of the guilty. His object was rather to bring, in a

startling way, such delinquencies before that portion of his readers who were not only far from being concerned in them, but were wholly ignorant of the enormities that were being committed, and who, he thought, might lend valuable assistance towards their suppression.

How far he combined in himself the catalogue of virtues recorded on so many tombstones, I will leave the reader to discover in the following pages. But one trait in his character must not be passed over here, namely, his habit of doing with a hearty thoroughness whatever he undertook. This trait manifested itself in small things as well as in greater ; in the care with which, while keeping his terms in the Middle Temple, he raised a crop of strawberries which were the envy of professional gardeners, no less than in the exactness with which he mastered military details for an article in the *Dublin Review*, or in the earnestness with which in later years he set himself to the task of making personal acquaintance with the Irish peasantry, whose champion he was to be in the House of Commons, not resting satisfied until he had become thoroughly conversant with their occupations, their wants, their grievances, and their aspirations.

Of his intellectual endowments, probably the most remarkable was his quickness of perception, as evinced no less in his appreciation of political positions, than in that of principles and their logical conclusions. An example of the former is

a fact mentioned by Mr. Riethmüller, who says that "he foresaw the troubles in France long before the crisis of the Polignac Ministry. While others talked in English fashion of Parliamentary majorities, he had already marked the signs of a coming revolution."[1] This was when he was eighteen years of age. About his rapid grasp of principles nothing need be added here to what has already been said of his conversion to the Catholic religion. His theology was not merely speculative, but eminently practical. To the religious test he brought all questions of politics; of statesmanship; of that minor department in statesmanship, political economy: all questions of right and duty in the various conditions of public life. This was his peculiarity. Others are as high-principled as he in private affairs. The reader will form his own judgment as to how far Lucas surpassed many of his contemporaries in dealing with public political questions. He certainly was a politician with a conscience; one whose principles, being firmly founded, were not liable to change. He was a political economist, but not of the Cobden school, and besides being an able journalist, he was a profound literary critic, a military critic of great penetration, and an orator fit to take high rank among speakers.

That a keen sense of humour characterised him, no one who reads the following pages can fail to see. His genial mind readily caught the ludicrous

[1] Riethmüller, p. 19.

aspect of a question; but when excited by false professions, and covert attacks upon the Church, his humour became satirical enough. Yet in the midst of his lightest sallies and most familiar conversations, there was always an undercurrent of piety. Thus when one of the Young Irelanders, a sincere and genuine Catholic (but whose warmth of patriotism sometimes led him into exaggerated expressions), declared that he was "an Irishman first, and a Catholic afterwards," he at once replied, "Ah! but which are you going to be last?" And writing to a common friend, "What does —— mean by saying he prefers his country to his Church? I regard that as essentially not different from the man who says he prefers his belly to his Church. The former may be the more dignified and respectable humanist, but I have the greater grudge against him as sinning against greater light."

A man of this temperament could never be at a loss for objects at which to let fly the bolts of his wit. On the other hand, circumstances frequently made him commit what the chidden considered "most mischievous foul sin in chiding sin." So that though he won many friends, and staunch ones too, and many more admirers, yet at the same time, and by the same process, he made bitter enemies. Who his friends were, and how it came about that a fearless and unselfish championship of every interest that Catholics should hold most dear earned him the hostility of many of his fellow-Catholics, will appear in the course of this Memoir.

CHAPTER II.

THE STATE OF THE CATHOLIC BODY IN ENGLAND IN 1840—FOUNDATION OF THE "TABLET"—CONFESSION OF POLITICAL FAITH.

THE years which elapsed between the commencement of Lucas's stay at University College, London, and his call to the Bar (1828–35), presented a succession of political incidents which served to give definite form and consistency to the political lessons with which he was at that time storing his mind.

At the time when Lucas, still a mere lad, began seriously to turn his attention to political affairs, the struggle which issued in Catholic Emancipation was drawing to a close with dramatic incidents; and the Clare election, the surrender of the Government, and the triumph of the Catholics, English and Irish, were among the first of contemporary events of which he had to master the significance. Then came the French Revolution of July. There followed next the agitation and riots that led to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. To this succeeded the Tithe War in Ireland, and the Anti-Slavery movement in England, a movement in which O'Connell took a

conspicuous share. The repeal of the Corn Laws, too, which had been demanded for many years past, was beginning to be pressed for with more urgency than hitherto, and was the subject of endless discussion.

On the question of Catholic Emancipation Lucas was, like the rest of the Society of Friends in England, on the side of the Catholics. The remembrance of persecutions that Friends had suffered at the hands of the Established Church engendered a sympathy with others similarly persecuted. Moreover, the Quakers had nothing to lose by the restoration to Catholics of their political rights, whereas the Anglican Establishment felt itself threatened, proximately or remotely, by every advance made by Catholicism. The Quakers, then, were personally disinterested in the struggle, and were thus qualified to form an unbiassed judgment; while their better feelings were revolted by some of the opponents of Emancipation.

When, on the other hand, the agitation for Parliamentary Reform stirred up the whole country, Lucas—with all his love of legitimate liberty—was far from being carried away by the kind of talk that prevailed in the press and on the platform, or by the flattering hopes which the Reformers held out to the people. He was not a believer in the efficacy of legislative remedies for moral evils, and in this respect he was far in advance of public writers and speakers of the

time. I quote some words of his, written some years later, on occasion of the Chartist riots, and the Rebecca rising in South Wales:—

"There is something in our English habits of mind which leads us to form an undue estimate of the importance and value of political institutions. Laws certainly can accomplish much, but in England, from the time of Magna Charta down to the Reform Bill, it has always been the fashion of our countrymen to imagine that every social and political disorder has its legal remedy; to attach themselves heart and soul to some measure which appears calculated to remove the disorder; to struggle for it with the utmost perseverance till it has become the law of the land; to conceive the highest faith in the omnipotence of this legal remedy; to expect little less than miracles from its instant operation; and finally, when these hopes are disappointed, to vent no small portion of our spleen against some unhappy culprit or other to whose evil machinations and wicked schemes the failure of the magnificent experiment is owing." Then he calls to mind "the zeal, the enthusiasm, the boundless hopes, the flaming expectations of the Reform struggle, and he asks, Is the physical condition of the people improved? Is there more enjoyment of the outward blessings of life than before? Is the moral condition of society improved? Are the lower orders more moral, more devout, more patient, more resigned, less inclined to fly out into wild extra-

vagant courses when the wolf of famine is at the door?"

The discipline and experience of these years, then, were well calculated to fit Lucas for the task which he took in hand a little more than a twelve-month after his reception into the Catholic Church in 1839. This was an attempt to organise, for action in their common interests, the Catholic body in England; for nothing less than this was the real scope of the *Tablet*, which he started in 1840. In order to appreciate what this attempt involved, it will be necessary to cast a partly retrospective glance (*a*) at the internal state of the Catholic body in England; (*b*) at its relations to O'Connell and the Irish Catholics; and (*c*) at its relations to the Government and English society. It is not, of course, possible to keep these several relations entirely apart; still some such divisions of the subject seem necessary in order to the forming of a clear view. Lucas, it will be observed, had this great advantage over most of the men with whom, and for whom, he had to act, that he had inherited no political traditions, no personal connections, that could warp his judgment. His aim was single, and it was shaped in accordance with this elementary and most fundamental principle, that the interests of the Church, that is, of souls, were paramount over all political and worldly considerations whatsoever. In the light of these interests he viewed every political and social problem that came before him, and where he

deemed that these interests were at stake he was not the man to go whining and puling in lachrymose fashion over some phantom bugbear of "disintegration of the Empire," or the like.

(*a.*) The English Catholics, of the upper class especially, were a very timid body, and naturally so. They were few in number, and the remembrance of the penal times had not died out: men were living who had had to attend Mass in a public-house with pots of beer before them, in order to conceal their occupation in case of a hostile visit; the Gordon riots were by no means forgotten; and almost every one of the leading houses had traditions of executions, imprisonments, banishments, and confiscations well calculated to make extreme caution a habit in their families. Habits of two hundred years' growth are not eradicated in a few decades. Consequently, when the emancipation of Catholics began to be talked of, there was no boldness in the manner of the demand.

More than this, and worse; many of the leading English Catholics, indeed the great bulk of them, had shown themselves willing to barter the independence of the Irish Church for the right to sit in Parliament. I refer, of course, to the design of conceding to the British Government a veto on the appointment of Bishops in Ireland; a design which had been happily frustrated by the firmness of the Irish Episcopate,[1] ably seconded by the courageous

[1] Vide *infra.*

action of Bishop Milner. When, then, O'Connell took Emancipation in hand, little assistance was to be looked for from the English Catholics; and they did not belie the expectations which might reasonably have been formed as to their probable conduct in the matter. They would have been content to hang on, for years to come, as a tail to the English Dissenters. These last had objects of their own to gain, and, for the most part, cared very little for Catholics, and, as the event proved, still less for the Irish, whom they threw over on the first opportunity. Even O'Connell's example had failed to infuse courage into the Catholic leaders, who, with a few exceptions, seemed incapable of large views, vigorous action, or even manly speech, at least in matters political. It was something that they were allowed to live and to practise undisturbed those domestic and social virtues which no one can hesitate to reckon to their credit. Even so late as 1840, when three Catholic Colleges were empowered to present candidates for degrees in the University of London, Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, in a letter to the Paris *Univers*, could allude as "something astonishing to the fact (!) that the Queen should solemnly recognise the rights of the religious orders in her kingdom," and by "sign manual" too.

I am, however, far from denying that there were honourable exceptions to this general condition of political apathy; exceptions the more honourable, inasmuch as some perspicacity and no inconsider-

able courage were requisite to enable a member of the Catholic nobility or landed gentry to rise superior to the political traditions of his class, and to recognise in action, as well as in conviction, that the time had come when more stirring counsels and bolder methods should prevail. Let me hasten to say that no part of the above charge against the political attitude of our "natural leaders" forty years ago can be understood to be directed against such men as the Hon. Charles Langdale, Lord Clifford, Mr. Charles Weld of Chideock, Mr. Charles Waterton, or a few others like them. Moreover, in what I have said above, I impute—as my brother when using far more vehement language than mine imputed—no consciously unworthy motive to men whose mistaken timidity and hesitancy compromised in the most serious manner the gravest interests of their fellow-Catholics.

The struggle for Emancipation did undoubtedly awaken some spirit of independence among English Catholics, and even the more shrinking caught more or less of the contagion. This better and bolder spirit, however, in the course of a few years almost died away, and its disappearance was largely due to what has been aptly called "the drawing-room influence."

I have spoken principally of Catholics of the upper class. Before passing to the next rank, I cannot refrain from paying a tribute to the charity and domestic virtues of the old Catholic families, virtues which were at all times

conspicuous, and, when the occasion called for it, heroic to a degree. If, as I have said, a certain timidity had become habitual with them, the other side of the picture must not be forgotten, and it would be unjust to withhold mention of it here.

Of the middle and lower classes it may be said, generally speaking, that they were quite as religious as those who occupied a higher social station, and far less timorous; and that a large section of them only waited for a leader.

(*b.*) O'Connell and the Irish were viewed with very mixed and contradictory feelings. The upper class for the most part wanted his advocacy, yet feared him. With the middle class, his popularity was unbounded. The poor were his own countrymen, driven from home and located, through sheer necessity, in the lowest quarters of the great towns. Accustomed to live far from cities and from throngs of men, with their priest at hand to advise them in the small emergencies of their lives, they were ignorant of many things, including vice. They had been suddenly thrown into the midst of a corrupt and corrupting society, without any kind of adequate provision for their spiritual wants, and for the most part in a condition of abject poverty. So far as they knew anything of O'Connell (for some did not even know his name), they were his enthusiastic supporters.

O'Connell was fully alive to the estimate in which he was held by the great bulk of the "respectable" Catholics in England. Of this a curious

proof occurs in the history of the founding of the *Dublin Review*, of which he was one of the three original proprietors, the other two being Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman, and a Mr. Quin. At a certain crisis shortly after its establishment, O'Connell thought it necessary to use some caution in letting his name appear in connection with the *Review*, lest his being associated in the undertaking should injure its circulation; for though the title was Irish, most of the subscribers would be English. This was about the year 1836.

Still he was an advocate of whom they felt the need. His numerous speeches at anti-slavery meetings had done much to correct a notion that the Catholic Church not merely permitted but even encouraged slavery. His success in this respect was such that Mr. Fowell Buxton and some of his friends found it necessary to try and lessen his influence even with the Abolitionists. He was not only a political but a religious champion. He it was who enabled the Catholics of this Empire to hold up their heads as free men, to meet their Protestant neighbours as equals and without a blush. To him it was chiefly owing that they began to assume that station in society which was on every account their due.

Such a defender of the Catholic cause could not be ignored. But a large class of English Catholics re-echoed the cry of his bitterest enemies. He was a violent demagogue. He indulged in vulgar abuse. He called a spade a

spade. He was an agitator; and they were ashamed as well as afraid of him. Still he had a very large following, who had no objection to plain speaking; and who did not consider a strong argument violent merely by reason of its strength. As to the Irish poor, they were troublesome. Having barely the means of subsistence, they were not clean in their habits; moreover, many of them required pecuniary aid, and they had other characteristics which English people, Catholic as well as Protestant, did not understand. But so far as their opportunities went they were very pious; and in their exile very much to be pitied. They were, then, at the same time objects of genuine commiseration and a nuisance to many of their English fellow-Catholics.

(*c.*) The relation of the Catholic aristocracy towards the Government was very plain. They had two fixed principles. First, the Tory party was to be opposed tooth and nail.[1] Secondly, the Whig Government was never to be embarrassed. The urging of claims on which depended the salvation of the souls of paupers, criminals, soldiers, and sailors was always to be conducted as if such salvation was of less importance than the convenience of the Whig Ministry. Had the stake at issue been less serious, the attitude would appear grotesque, and so indeed it did to those who had to battle with the sterner realities of life.

[1] Here and there an exception appeared, like Sir John Gerard in Lancashire.

The relative social positions of Catholics and Protestants were gradually changing. The fusion of Catholics with Protestants, from whose society they had been for many generations excluded, had indeed already begun, but many families still remained who would have no intimate association with Protestants, and so long as this spirit lasted, there was a possibility of the Catholic body making head against the numerous injustices from which they continued to suffer, and which no nerveless advocacy could possibly remove.

It was to advocate the claims of this heterogeneous body that Lucas abandoned a professional career that promised more than ordinary success, and embarked on a sea of storms, with little prospect of pecuniary advantage from the voyage. He knew well that with the utmost success that could be regarded as probable, no new journal would pay its expenses for two years at least.

The Catholics in England had long wished for an organ in the press. Frederick Lucas was suggested by Father Lythgoe, S.J., as one well fitted to conduct such an undertaking. His known zeal, his acquaintance with Protestant feelings, his grasp of Catholic principles and Catholic history, all led to, and confirmed, the recommendation of Father Lythgoe. He acquiesced without hesitation in the proposal to become editor of a weekly journal on conditions which left him perfectly free to advocate whatever policy justice and truth appeared to him to demand. To make this

clear to the public, and at the same time to save himself from the imputation of wishing to commit the Catholic body by any line he might deem it wise to adopt, he fixed upon the name of the *Tablet*, and for the same reason placed as a motto at the head of his journal a saying of Burke's, "My errors, if any, are my own: I have no man's proxy." In this undertaking he was associated with two gentlemen named Keasley, who were engaged in the leather trade, and who were to furnish means to keep the paper afloat till it should be on a sound commercial footing.

"It was also in the year 1840 that Lucas married Miss Elizabeth Ashby, a daughter of Mr. William Ashby of Staines—a lady to whom he had been for some time engaged. The union was in all respects a happy one, except in the loss of their first child, one of the great sorrows of his life, and in the absorbing cares and labours which left him so little leisure for domestic intercourse. The birth of a second boy came to console them for their first bereavement, and in every trial Lucas found in his wife a faithful and devoted helpmate."[1]

It is hardly necessary to say that as a journalist Lucas was a stranger to fear, and that he was not likely to give too much weight to the suggestions of weak counsellors. He had been brought up among surroundings which accustomed him to the utmost freedom of speech, and he

[1] Riethmüller, p. 76.

knew with what boldness and with what effect the press had more than once in times past used its liberty against the power of the Bench and of the Crown.

In the first number of the *Tablet*, which appeared on the 16th of May 1840, he made what he called "a brief confession of political faith." He avowed "the opinion that legislative reforms and enactments, in any higher sphere than that of police, are very necessary to remove obstructions, and very powerless to effect much positive good." He says his "comparatively low estimate of the good that can flow from them will not dispose him to be seized with vehement, undiscriminating, and unfounded admiration of the measures of his political friends, nor vehement, undiscriminating, and unfounded hostility to those of political opponents." He is "not a blind partisan of any body of statesmen, but between the two parties he prefers the Whig Government." He is "not of the number of those rigid and abstract politicians who think that political allegiance and loyalty to the heads of parties should go for nothing;" but "where there is no great difference of principle the feeling of gratitude should have much weight."

He draws a comparison between the two parties as they then existed. In the course of nearly half a century changes have inevitably occurred; but his outline is in many respects such as might, with change of names, be drawn to-day. He says:—

"We believe there is very little difference be-

tween Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel in the desire to maintain the present, or very nearly the present, mixture of aristocracy and democracy; the present mode of exercising the prerogative of the Crown; the present mode of administering and amending the laws; and, in short, the present distribution of political, legislative, and administrative power. Both of them are desirous to maintain the Anglican Establishment in a certain degree of pre-eminence over the Catholic Church, and the sects which the Establishment has brought forth. . . . On many points we should agree with both, . . . but we should give our support to the party to whose exertions the triumph of the principles of toleration and justice is owing, rather than to the party on whose acceptance they have been forced." Many of Sir Robert Peel's followers, he says, are not sane. To themselves alone "the peace of the empire could not be left for a single hour. Their opinions are a strange medley of truth and falsehood, of sense and nonsense, of maxims borrowed, with little judgment, from other times and other systems than their own, and therefore harmonising neither with those times nor with their own systems. Fanatical without religion, unbending in their purposes but unscrupulous in their means, and capable of waiving their principles for a time in order to secure their ultimate more sure triumph; restless, meddling, rash, heedless, and impatient, . . . they have in England made hateful the designation of Ultra-Tory, and in

Ireland have consigned to eternal infamy the name of Orangeman."

He proceeds to refer to Ireland in these words:—

"On the subject of Irish politics it is difficult to speak with moderation. . . . We are no Repealers; but we look upon the cry for Repeal to be the most natural for the inhabitants of a country which has been governed with such fatal disregard of all the plainest rules of justice and prudence."

He takes into account what may be said in favour of Repeal. The dark side of the picture, he says, is made up of "absenteeism and the strengthening of the hands of the Orangemen of the North by aid of their brother bigots in England. . . . But we think that no impartial person who considers the change which late years have introduced into the character of our Irish legislation, the immense stride that has been made from the more than Orange barbarities —if that be conceivable—of the last century to the mild and moderate injustice of the present day, can hesitate in believing that the troubled waters will work themselves pure—that patience (Heaven knows the Irish have been patient hitherto), moderation, and firmness will suffice for the accomplishment of what remains, without giving up the country to the horrors of civil war—the inevitable result of any serious attempt to obtain the repeal of the Union."

This was before there seemed a possibility of winning Repeal by peaceable agitation, and long

before independent opposition was regarded as a sufficiently powerful weapon. Moreover, my brother had not yet visited Ireland. He had no clear view of the state of the country. When he did go over in 1843, he was almost as speedily converted to Repeal as he had been to the Catholic religion, and within a few months he published a retractation of his formerly expressed opinions, declaring that he had written in ignorance of the real facts of the case, and expressing contrition for ever having given any countenance to a tremendous injustice. This he did in language which certainly deserves to be called strong, and which bears upon its surface the plainest sincerity. I shall have occasion to quote his words on this subject later.

The journal had not been long in existence before the editor gathered round him a number of kindred spirits delighted at the appearance of such a champion. Among the laity were the late Charles Weld of Chideock, Charles Waterton, the Hon. Charles Clifford, and Colonel Townley. The Hon. Charles Langdale, too, at that time member for Knaresborough, gave some very substantial support. He was a man of the highest principle, and ready to sacrifice his domestic ease to the service of the Catholic cause. Thomas Chisholm Anstey also was much at the office of the paper; and of the clergy, Bishop Briggs especially may be named.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY—O'CONNELL AND THE "TIMES"—THE "UNIVERS"—MEHEMET ALI AND THIERS.

LIKE Carlyle, with whom he was on intimate terms, Lucas thought that the great besetting sin of our generation is quackery and a predisposition to be deceived by cant; that everywhere are to be encountered the petty shifts and paltry affectations of some moral impostor, so decked out in rainbow hues that he is sure to be followed and admired. This view of society soon brought the editor of the *Tablet* into conflict with one or other of these pretenders, and through them with their admirers. These conflicts were apt to assume a somewhat personal character, for the authorship of the articles was avowed, and the editorial "we" concealed nothing.

It has been said that the *Tablet* "began with a moderation of tone which strangely contrasted with the violence of a later period, . . . and that the fierce and bitter hostility which it afterwards met with was provoked by a corresponding manner of dealing with its adver-

saries."[1] We shall see. Perhaps, most of the violence which was apparent was on the other side. At any rate, Lucas from the outset fully grasped the idea that you cannot cut blocks with a razor, and that to tell a Billingsgate fishwife that her statement is "inexact" would be to waste words. Some of the men whom it was necessary to attack were criminals of a very deep dye, and they had to be dealt with accordingly. The use of polite periphrasis is often only a device for the screening of a delinquent, and a proof of weakness or timidity rather than of moderation. The late Cardinal Wiseman was not a violent man, but he totally objected to the use of the word "suicide," on the ground that it softened down an offence which is after all murder, and of the worst kind. The men with whom the *Tablet* was in controversy in its early days were a very different set, and their failings or guilt of a very different type, from those with whom the conflict raged in the later years of the editor's life.

As strong a piece of writing perhaps as the subject admitted of appeared in the fourth number of the *Tablet*. The occasion was this: O'Connell had intended to speak at an anti-slavery meeting, and, by a conspiracy in which Mr. Fowell Buxton, the Earl of Chichester, and others were mixed up, he was, contrary to the general wish of the meeting, prevented from doing so.

[1] Riethmüller, p. 75.

The *Times* professed to give an account of the incident. The *Tablet* quotes the words of the *Times* and says :—" We don't quote these sentences for any other purpose than to draw attention to them as a work of art. In addition to the qualities which we have already described as necessary to the composition of a thoroughly good lie,[1] the sentences in question possess one to which we have not yet alluded. It is this—that every word in the paragraph is scrupulously true, but the whole paragraph is entirely false. If our space permitted, we would examine it clause by clause, but we may safely leave the discovery of its merits to the sagacity of our readers, merely drawing attention to what a great saving of raw material may be effected where a man understands his trade, and knows how to construct the largest possible falsehood by a little dexterity in putting together acknowledged truths." The writer then speaks of Mr. Fowell Buxton as standing "most prominent amongst those who pandered to low party spite by consenting to O'Connell's exclusion."

About the same time arose a controversy with the Paris *Univers*, at that time the most widely circulated Catholic paper in Europe. In the dispute with this journal Lucas pointed out the absurdity and mischief of endeavouring to identify the interests of the Church with a mere national interest. The two might coincide in any particular

[1] The article in which these words occur may be fairly entitled "An Essay on the Art of Lying."

case, but it was irrational to suppose them to be inseparably bound up one with the other. The difference arose in connection with affairs in the East. Mehemet Ali, the Pacha of Egypt, had overrun Syria, and his tyranny and cruelties had caused the people of that country to revolt. He himself was a rebel against the Porte, and the ultimate object of his invasion of Syria, where he had no legitimate authority, was supposed to be the occupation of Constantinople. The defence of the Holy Places has for generations been claimed by France as her privilege, and she for some reason preferred the sovereignty of the Pacha to that of the Porte. The other European Powers, having no such predilection, interfered to prevent the breaking up of the Turkish Empire. France therefore isolated herself, thinking that no agreement would be come to by the Powers in her absence or without her consent. She rejected several proposals, till at last the other great Powers, tired out with her delays, signed a treaty in London on the 14th of July 1840. M. Thiers, then Prime Minister of Louis Philippe, had deluded himself, till the signatures were actually attached to the document, with the belief that England at least would not act without France. When the fact of the treaty became known, mortified by what he called (in self-defence) the slight put upon France, but what was in reality only the result of his own obstinacy, trickery, and blindness, Thiers raised a cry for war with England, and the press was

enlisted on the side of the national vanity. For some time it seemed as though the peace of Europe were in danger.

Among the most strenuous advocates of war was the *Univers*, a Catholic paper, and one of which, even so late as the 26th of July, the *Tablet* could say that it had not been much mixed up with the war of parties. By the 22nd of August, however, "a tone of military ardour, of zeal—not to say of phrenzy—in defence of the honour of the French Fatherland," seemed to have absorbed every other sentiment. This journal assumed that France was the natural defender of Catholicism throughout the East, and on that ground wanted a religious war. The *Tablet* took the very opposite line, saying:—"Let the interests of Catholics be protected; we wish nothing better; but let the common law of independent states be respected, and the just limits of national authority preserved. We cannot forget that the men at the helm of France are men who think little of the interests of religion compared with the power, the interests, and the aggrandisement of France. We cannot, therefore, consent to recognise in the religion of those for whom French authority is occasionally exerted a sufficient excuse for the departure from all known rules and principles by which the conduct of nations is or ought to be regulated. If our fellow-Catholics are protected, we shall rejoice at it; but we shall not the less, when there is need, protest

against the spirit of encroachment which, in these as well as in other matters, occasionally marks the proceedings of the French Government."

On the 29th of August the *Tablet* asks :—" Is France, after having for half a century and upwards done more than any other nation to propagate impiety and obscenity, and whose popular literature has even now hardly ceased to be an agglomeration of the worst and vilest corruption —is France now so thoroughly identified with Christianity as to say, 'He that is not with me is against Christianity'? We apprehend that most of our readers will think not." Some details of atrocities in Syria are then given, among others the immersing of the bodies of Christians in oil and then burning them alive. The *Tablet* proceeds :—" An English blockade of Syria, to rescue the Catholics of these mountains from the infernal despot of Egypt, will forsooth be regarded by France as a declaration of war. If France hires a sailor or hoists a sail or wastes an ounce of powder to maintain Mehemet in his tyranny over Syria, she outdoes Nicholas himself. France the protector of Catholicity in this contest! France the promoter of civilisation! England the ally of barbarism! Monstrous! So far as the interests of civilisation are concerned in keeping the paw of Russia off Constantinople, France again is the enemy of civilisation by declining to sign a treaty, and so leaving herself without any legal means of controlling and directing the manner of Russian

interference. England, on the other hand, is the friend of civilisation by taking the reasonable precaution of acquiring a right by treaty to say to Russia, 'Thus far shalt thou go.' "

The controversy with the *Univers* waxed warm. The editor of the *Tablet* felt that vital interests were at stake, and these he was determined to defend at any risk. He writes :—" We shall not easily be turned aside from the course we have marked out for ourselves in treating on the present aspect of foreign affairs. Neither the affected indignation of our friends of the *Univers* —we at least are still their friends, however violently they may err in point of temper or opinion—nor the manifest injustice of our enemies in the Tory press of England will affect or discompose us in the smallest degree. We know the end at which we aim, and shall advance straight to our object, regardless of the violent invectives of the one, and the silent and unostentatious iniquity of the other."

And again :—" It is not agreeable to us to have to enter thus warmly into a contest with our respected contemporary; but we perceive that advantage has been taken of articles in the *Univers* to implicate Catholics generally as accomplices, in wish at least, in the scheme of a propagandist war."

Nothing came of the excitement. England, under the treaty of the 14th July, besieged and took Acre (27th September), and France settled

down after the resignation of Thiers. On the manner and the time of that resignation the *Tablet* commented in an article containing some very lively sketches of living statesmen, whom the editor contrasts with Thiers. The article is, however, too long for transcription here. Let us proceed to another subject of importance that engaged Lucas's attention about the same time.

CHAPTER IV.

MODERN AND ANCIENT CHARITY.

THE period from 1838 to 1847, when the Corn Laws were virtually abolished, was one of distress with short intervals of prosperity of a partial kind. This was the time when poor seamstresses were making shirts for three-farthings apiece—a fact which led to Hood's writing the famous "Song of the Shirt." Men out of employment were to be seen in hundreds at the street corners waiting for employment; and one met a sweeper at every other crossing, whether in the City or at the West End. For part of the time, so slack was trade, that in travelling through the Black Country it was observed that not one tall chimney in twenty was smoking. The condition of the people was deplorable indeed. The political economists were proving to their own satisfaction that it was quite right to take the labour of the poor at utterly inadequate wages, and that the remedy for the universal selfishness was free trade in corn. Supply and demand was the sole consideration by which wages could be regulated. In the meantime the poverty was extreme, and the rates, even under the new poor-law, were oppressive. The subject

was one which no public man could ignore, and which a journalist was bound to discuss. While others were treating the matter with more or less shallowness, the editor of the *Tablet* published an article which may very well be studied at this day. The arguments brought forward and the facts insisted on seem to cut the ground from under the feet of our modern philanthropists, to say nothing of those new system-mongers and quasi-philosophers and metaphysicians who, for some reason of their own, do not wish to believe in Christianity, and would persuade mankind that it is one of those religions which are rapidly becoming effete.

The article is entitled "Ancient Charity and Modern Poor-Laws." I give it nearly entire as follows:—

"Our attention has been drawn to the subject of the laws for the relief of the poor by a report on the comparative condition of Aston and Birmingham, which has just been laid on the table of the House of Commons. In this report an attempt is made to prove, by a sufficient array of figures and statistical tables, that Aston is blessed above Birmingham in its moral state, by reason mainly of the operation of the new system of poor-laws. The ratepayers are taxed less heavily, the paupers are a smaller percentage, the cases of imposture are less numerous, the management of poor business is more business-like, the presumed savings of the lower classes are greater in amount,

and their character for prudence and forethought much improved. These things being so, the inference appears undeniable, that nothing is wanting but Somerset House superintendence in a more direct form to remedy the present lamentable inequality between these two places. Whether this is *quite* a satisfactory solution of the question may, perhaps, be doubted.

"The points of comparison which we have just enumerated are the principal considerations which enter into the calculations of modern philosophers in discussing this momentous question. It is agreed that if an improvement in these particulars can be clearly ascertained, the propriety of the new poor-law is a necessary consequence. Now it seems to us that to treat the subject in this manner is to overlook a host of considerations, which, however they may have been despised in Pagan times, ought not to be overlooked in a country that calls itself Christian; and we think a person would be doing good service who could in any way call attention to this important aspect of the question, from which public attention has of late been almost wholly averted. We hope, then, for the indulgence of our readers if we occupy some little space, not discussing the details of the management of the new system (for an examination of which we may find a fitter occasion), but in laying before our readers our grounds for believing that in Poor Law Reports, Treatises on Population, and the like publications of the present

day, the more important half of the subject has been utterly neglected.

"The old solution of the question as to the treatment of the poor was—slavery. When the Church succeeded in abolishing this simple though harsh poor-law by bringing about the emancipation of the lower classes, other ways had to be devised for their maintenance. Devised, do we say? The spirit which procured their emancipation was itself the means for their maintenance. Christian charity set them free: the same charity was their support in their distresses. 'Pro salute animæ meæ—for the health of my soul,' is the 'consideration' expressed in the old charters of manumission: not 'in consideration of my share of the twenty millions.' And the consideration which procured the poor man freedom, found him also his daily bread. In those days the poor were honoured: the devout poor man was considered the most perfect image of our Blessed Saviour upon earth; poverty was considered a blessed state. When a devout mind wished to strive after a higher state of perfection than it had yet attained, it assumed poverty, as the fittest garment of holiness; and the rich man followed to the letter the injunctions of Christ and His Apostles of selling all and giving to the poor, as the most certain preparative to a perfect following of Him. When men of ill habits and corrupt lives wished to repair the evil of their former days, they sought out the dens and hovels of poverty, made themselves familiar with wretched-

ness, and by personal sympathy no less than pecuniary aid strove to mitigate the sufferings under which the afflicted were bent down. The doors of the benevolent were besieged by crowds of ragged clients in foul raiment, who received alms, not as an inducement to carry the annoyance of their squalid misery elsewhere, but for the love of Christ. From the same motive, maidens high born and wealthy nobles, abandoning their high estate in this world to obtain a higher in the world to come, gave themselves up to painful attendance in hospitals, dressed the sores of the poor, attended them in their last illnesses, and provided them with all the consolations of the most delicate sympathy. The distinctions of rank and wealth were retained unimpaired; but there was no strict line of demarcation between the rich and the poor, between the respectable and the pauper. The poor were seen by the rich, mixed with the rich. In cities they lived in the same streets; they brought their miseries into open daylight, and the wealthy and high-born perused, at every corner of the way, the outward deformities of poverty as a book in which the highest duties of their religion were written. Charity to the poor, springing from love, furnished some alleviation to the anguish of the penitence which haunted the sinner's dying bed. Charity to the poor extracted the sting from that curse, 'It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter

the kingdom of God.' Charity to the poor enabled a rich man to live a life of poverty in the midst of abundant riches. Charity to the poor softened down the harsh and rugged inequalities of station, and reconciled the destitute to the inconveniences of their lot. Charity to the poor enabled the rich to 'entertain angels unawares;' for in the squalid garb of the beggar and the lazar, the sumptuous portal was entered by many a saint, who repaid the rich in prayers more than he received for the sustenance of the body.

"Thus it was that hospitals were raised and endowments were bestowed, and monasteries became rich because they *gave* liberally, and there was a blessing upon them; and kindness, consideration, and an infinite and tender charity reigned over the whole system of almsgiving, and hallowed the munificent tribute which the rich paid to the condition in which they knew their Divine Master had redeemed them. This was the spirit which prevailed among Christians up to the Reformation. These were the means by which the poor were supported after their emancipation had relaxed the strict claim they had on their former masters for support. In these times, standing midway between the old system of slavery and the new system of pauperism, the poor were relieved by charity. There was no system of laws for their relief. There was no need of law, because the great law of charity, so

long as the Catholic Church preserved its power over the mind, supplied the place of an outward law by the spontaneous exuberance which it poured forth.

"We know the answer to all this; we know it may be said, and it *is* said, that notwithstanding all this talk of Christian charity, the almsgiving propensities of the Middle Ages were an encouragement to impostors, established begging as a trade, robbed the deserving poor by taking from the funds of charity to enrich the undeserving and the profligate, and violated the apostolic injunction that if a man will not work neither shall he eat.

"It is indeed beautiful to behold the zeal for moral fitness of this most enlightened age. We would ask these zealots for the fit distribution of rewards among the poor whether they imagine that the apostolic injunction applies only to the poor? or whether it has ever occurred to them that it applies to the rich drone who surfeits in luxury and passes his hours, from the earliest season of infancy to the last mental decrepitude of age, without doing so much as one honest day's work for the wages he receives from the providence of Almighty God? Where there is all this honest desire for the poor man to receive no penny above his strict earnings, we should like (did we not fear it would prove rather a hazardous experiment) to see the same stern law in force for the rich.

"But waiving this delicate course of reasoning, which, if carried out, might weigh rather heavily on the wealthier classes, we prefer meeting the objection with a direct answer to evading it. We deny that the almsgiving in the Middle Ages produced the evils described in anything like the proportion imagined by those who use the objection. Springing from the divine root of heavenly charity in the giver, this Catholic almsgiving produced divine fruit in the receiver. It was thus, like all acts of Christian mercy, twice blest. The alms of Catholic times being dispensed not from vanity, nor to get free from importunity, nor from any worldly motive, but as acts of penance, to wash out the stains of sin, enkindled a desire of like purification in the poor man who received them. An act of charity was not an effort of mere maudlin sensibility, but it was Faith, Hope, and Charity displaying themselves in one external action. It was the concentration of all the highest virtues upon one point. It manifested a desire to redeem sins, and it therefore engendered in the spectator a like desire. It made the object of the charity the partaker of an action of heroic virtue. We do not expect to meet with assent from the philosophers of the day, in whose systems supernatural motives and the agency of the invisible would find no place, and who reason from the most sordid portions of our common nature. But, in spite of this, our description is historically accurate: the influence of supernatural

motives *did* preserve a liberal, and even (as it would appear to modern eyes) an indiscriminate distribution of alms, from operating as an encouragement to imposture, to the extent that seems inevitable at the present day.

"But further, let us remark that every system is to be judged from its fitness to work out the main end which the institutors of it desire to attain. Now the end in view in modern times has hardly a single property in common with the end which the Christian sages of old times proposed to themselves in this matter of alms-giving.

"The object which the inventors of the system of the tests of destitution have in view is to teach the poor, with a due avoidance indeed of all unnecessary severity, but with harshness where harshness is necessary, to form habits of saving, of strict economy, of hard worldly prudence; and to relieve those distresses of theirs which no attainable prudence can avoid, at the lowest possible cost to the rich. The object of the new poor-law organisation is to create an array of practical functionaries, who have to perform two most arduous functions, one of which is to teach a lesson of economy to the poor, the other to discharge a duty of economy to the rich. That the means employed are well adapted to this end we are far from denying.

"The object which the sages of the Middle Ages had in view was very different, and we must

confess that the motives we have just described weighed very little with them. Habits of saving, worldly prudence and economy, were by no means valueless in their eyes, but their whole aim was different. They looked at almsgiving chiefly in connection with supernatural principles of action. To the rich man, as we have seen, almsgiving was considered not merely with reference to the object of the charity, but with reference to the dispenser of it. He gave alms to redeem his soul from sin. In this point of view, the widest liberality was the truest economy. He who gave the most received the largest interest on his outlay. In the dispensation of the charity of such men as these, the obligation of economy wears quite a different aspect from that which it assumes in modern times. *Now* it is a great object to limit expenditure in order to prevent waste; *then* it was an object to increase expenditure in order to augment merit. The order of ideas is altogether changed.

"In regard to the poor, also, the aim is very different. Now it is to teach economy by harsh restraint: then it was to teach the poor love through charity. To attain the first end, the dispenser must be niggardly, and must weigh every penny he bestows with the nicest and strictest caution. To attain the other end, the dispenser had to give cheerfully, to give liberally, to give so as to compel the poor man to say—This benefactor of mine is a man who thinks not of

himself but of God, who has impoverished himself to enrich me for Christ's sake; who in impoverishing himself for me has enriched himself more than he has enriched me!

"In working out the modern system it is necessary that charity should lose its *personality* as much as possible. It may be mercifully designed, but it is harsh and repulsive in the practice. It is necessary, to save the dispensers of charity from hatred and execration, that the acts of the distributors of public charity should appear as little as possible the result of their own personal feelings, and as much as possible the result of a system devised and enforced by some mysterious intelligence afar off. They must be made to appear as the servile (if intelligent) instruments of a cold and sullen mechanical contrivance. . . . .

"To sum up all in one sentence, the aim of the old system was to call out and develop the higher qualities of the mind by the kindly influence of the sun of beneficence: the aim of the modern system is to repress evil, to scourge imposture, and, by the terror of famine, amidst frost and snow and all kinds of moral inclemencies, to call out the one dwarf plant of worldly economy. Though we acquit the authors and the instruments of this system of any other motives than those of a desire to do good and benefit the species after their own fashion, we must honestly say that their schemes remind us very forcibly of the legislators described by Burke: 'In the

grounds of *their* academy, at the end of every vista, you see nothing but the gallows.'"

Obviously no return to the higher life of the past as here portrayed can be expected as the result of mere reading. As Lucas says, "Not reading or knowledge is the thing required; making people happy and contented by supplying all their finite wants is a shallow fallacy, which Mr. Carlyle has exposed with much humour in 'Sartor Resartus.' The great thing needed is not a mere addition to the material enjoyments, or even to the intellectual powers, of men, but a moral energy capable of transmuting all elements of physical discomfort into elements of spiritual good." And again he writes :—

"What we need is a parental and sovereign care for the poor exercised by the rich, and a prompt and willing obedience and reverence for the guidance of the rich yielded by the poor. We need, above all things, a restoration of this spirit in the agricultural districts, where it has decayed and died away, and its creation in the manufacturing districts, where it has never existed. . . . We need everywhere the abolition of that cursed state of things which now exists, and which Mr. Carlyle has depicted in a single word when he says that the sole *nexus* which now binds society together is *cash*. . . . Both rich and poor have forgotten their *duties*, and now first the poor, and lastly the rich, have been and are deprived of their *rights*. Let the means be found to teach them

the practice of the former, and the latter will not be long in returning to them both."

The above shows how little respect Lucas had for the current political economy and for free-trade budgets as specifics for the moral evils which he says lie at the root of the vast mass of modern misery.

CHAPTER V.

REPEAL—OPPOSITION TO O'CONNELL.

O'CONNELL'S precursor societies, whose function it was to prepare the way for the Repeal movement, gave place in 1840 to the Repeal Association itself. During the recess of that year the question of Repeal was agitated with ever-increasing enthusiasm. Meetings were held weekly in the Corn Exchange in Dublin, and at intervals all over the country. No series of meetings which we have seen reported in recent years can compare in point of numbers with O'Connell's. There was, however, no organisation among the mass of the people. They had been precluded by law from receiving education, and they were necessarily unaccustomed to taking a personal part in organised political action. They were, therefore, incapable of any effective united effort beyond that mere expression of opinion implied by attendance at meetings. The affairs of the Corporations afforded no practice whatever in the conduct of public business, and even municipal activity was principally confined to Dublin, Cork, and a few of the larger cities. Besides, the municipal rights and privileges were very restricted.

The national system of education, introduced by Lord Stanley in 1831, and promoted by Archbishop Whately with the avowed intention (since disclosed by his daughter) of perverting the people, had not yet produced the unexpected results which we see to-day.

Lucas at that time did not believe in the possibility of bringing about Repeal—even supposing it to be itself desirable—without civil war. But he had other objections to the movement—objections grounded on principle, which seemed to him final and conclusive. Nevertheless for six months after the foundation of the *Tablet* he refrained from discussing the question. He had avowed, as we have seen, his opposition to the scheme in his first issue, and there he had left the subject till the time of the controversy with the *Univers*. Even then he did not obtrude his views on the Catholic public, because, as he says himself, he was "unwilling to do anything unnecessarily to bring about a coolness between the Catholics of Ireland and those of England."

Now, however, he felt it his duty to enter into the controversy, and he did so from a point of view entirely in accordance with what had been the aim of his life since he had become a Catholic.

On the 28th of November appeared the first of a series of articles, not intended to present an exhaustive view of the question, but dealing with one chief consideration, viz., the effect that

Repeal would have upon the political power of the Catholics of the empire, as well in Great Britain as in the Colonies. The view he took was certainly not borrowed from any English party. It was a view of his own, and worked out on his own lines. The following passage exhibits the very small respect he had for the doctrinaire school of politicians :—

"The subject of Repeal has been so fully handled on all sides, that little of novelty remains behind to bring into the discussion, and we should be unwilling to weary our readers by repeating the well-known arguments against Repeal, which have been so often urged and so often combated, if it were not that the question has been taken up on this side of the water with so much apparent contempt for the understanding and character of the Irish advocates of Repeal, that we are desirous, while we express our firm conviction of the impolicy and impracticability of this measure, to record our dissent from the tone and spirit in which that impolicy and that impracticability have been attempted to be shown. A great nation smarting under a sense of past wrong, and rousing itself to procure some guarantee against the continuance of injustice in the future, is not to be treated with contumely because its remedies do not square with the dogmas of 'philosophical radicals,' who, in the plenitude of their wisdom, have discovered a set of political-economical formulas, by a due attention

to which all the ills that flesh is heir to may be speedily and efficaciously redressed.

. . . . . .

"Leaving, then, these questions of political economy to those whose taste lies in that direction, we wish . . . to direct attention to one or two points which, if we are not mistaken, it behoves our readers to keep in view."

The first consideration which weighs with him in this question is as to "its bearing on Catholic interests. . . . Take the Catholics of the United Kingdom as a compact body; they form one-third of the entire population. It was the Act (of Union) . . . that gave to the efforts of Irish Catholics an imperial character." Had they retained their local Parliament, no doubt they would have achieved emancipation sooner by many years. But the English Catholics would not have had it so soon. "Out of Ireland the Church of God in this empire would at this moment be sitting in captivity, a slave and an outcast, perhaps for centuries to come. Those who know and have seen the increased activity which has been communicated to every Catholic enterprise in Great Britain and in the Colonies during the last twelve years, can best appreciate the grievous loss which Catholicism would have sustained if the Act of Union had never passed. In the Supreme Legislature of the empire the Catholic Church would be shorn of nine-tenths of its strength.

"As for us, then, we have chosen our part. We

cry loudly for union; union not to the injury of Ireland, but to the common benefit of us all; a union, in all possible ways and by all possibilities, among the votaries of a common faith, that our enemies may not triumph over us; a union for the benefit of Ireland, unless Irishmen care nothing for the thousands, or rather millions, of their countrymen who are peopling England and Scotland and every distant corner of the empire. Lastly, we cry loudly against the proposed disjunction because it would amount to a breach of union among Catholics, while the power of their opponents would remain untouched, unbroken, and entire. . . . United the Catholics are one-third of the empire, and more numerous than any other denomination. Separated, what are we? It is the old story of the bundle of sticks."

It will be observed that there is nothing here about the disintegration of the empire; nothing about a stoppage of the influx of capital into Ireland, and a number of other parrot-cries with which we are familiar in these days. His aim, so far as here expressed, is to secure a compact union between all the Catholics of the two countries. Nowadays the English Catholics repudiate these notions, placing little value on a union between ourselves and our fellow-Catholics in Ireland.

This article brought out the *Waterford Chronicle* in the first instance, then Mr. John O'Connell, the Liberator's son, and lastly the Liberator himself.

The *Waterford Chronicle* somewhat misunderstood the drift of the *Tablet*, and took its meaning to be that an injustice (viz., the maintenance of the Union) should be perpetuated for the good which that injustice would do to religion. The *Tablet* replied:—

"We assure the writer in the *Waterford Chronicle* that if we could bring ourselves to believe that the maintenance of the Union was an *essential* injustice to Ireland, and the repeal of the Union the removal of an essential injustice, we should not think for a moment of putting forward the supposed interests of Catholicity as a bar to the removal of the injustice. . . . We never have, and we trust we never shall be, found putting forward the interests of Catholicity as a ground for refusing justice, and that on the high principle that Almighty God can defend His Church, and make it prosper without the use of a lie, either uttered or acted; and the commission of an injustice is the enactment of a lie."

As far as the *abstract right* goes, he thinks it is clearly on the side of the Union. Because, whatever the motives of the actors, *the two Legislatures were within their right* in passing the Act. And he uses an argument which he considered to be borne out by the facts of history, but which, he saw afterwards, was by no means in accordance with law. He says that by the Act of Union, the Parliament of Great Britain abolished its own independent existence by admitting Ireland to a

participation in the government. In this it only acted in accordance with a precedent frequently put in practice before, as when England abolished its separate Legislature by receiving within its pale first Wales, then Cheshire, then the County Palatine of Durham, then, forty years later, Scotland.

So far in reply to the *Waterford Chronicle.* O'Connell took a different line.

He argued "that the legislative union was not a compact nor a contract, and had nothing in it of stipulation or bargain on behalf of the people of Ireland; . . . that it was effected by terror, torture, force, fraud, and corruption; . . . that it nearly annihilated the manufacturing industry of Ireland; that it turned Irish operatives adrift to starvation; . . . that the Union had been followed by periodical and rapidly augmenting famines, its desolating effects being such, that out of a population of 8,000,000, considerably more than one-fourth, say 2,300,000, were driven for subsistence every year, for periods of more or less duration, to casual alms and charity as their only resource. Especially one of the greatest curses of the Union was the actual extermination of the peasantry by heartless and bigoted landlords, a giant evil daily augmenting; that all situations of honour, power, and emolument, and all offices in the administration of the law, were filled by violent partisans; that partisan sheriffs were generally nominated, and that acute and ready partisans were placed upon the bench, to the frightful oppression of the people at large, creating scenes of injustice and iniquity which it was not even then safe to describe."

He gave many more reasons, but none of them touch the question of "essential injustice" except the "terror, torture, force, fraud, and corruption" by which the Union was effected, and even this

was not insisted on. Probably O'Connell considered that his indictment (and it must be admitted to be a formidable one) only required stating to make the "essential injustice" self-evident. He fell into the same mistake as the *Waterford Chronicle* as to the drift of Lucas's argument. Admitting that Repeal, if carried, would lessen the power of the Catholic body in the United Kingdom as a whole, he could not submit to the injustice inflicted by the Union upon Ireland, to the misery it created,—he could not submit to these evils although they *were* to promote the interests of the Catholic Church.

To all this Lucas replies that "to deprive a nation of its separate Legislature in order more conveniently to injure and misgovern it, is a positive act of injustice, which no earthly consideration could tempt an honest man to commit. So far, then, as the enactors of the Union were actuated by such motives, they were guilty of a monstrous and inexcusable injustice."

"But," he continues, "a man may incur the *guilt* of an injustice without having committed an unjust *act*. A man may think he is robbing another, and so incur the guilt of robbery, when in reality he is recapturing his own goods." In the same way "the intention of the men who voted for the Union may have been as brutal and corrupt as Mr. O'Connell pleases, but the act itself may have been a measure of the soundest policy." The results of the Union are in some respects unjust,

but so are the results of any law whatsoever. And then he asks, "In what does the essential injustice consist? In the fact that the Union annihilates the independent national Legislatures? We showed last week the absurdity of that notion. In the origin and motives of its concoctors? We have demonstrated the fallacy of that mode of reasoning. In its consequences? But those are precisely what Mr. O'Connell will not allow us to take into account, because he objects to our argument that the repeal would be detrimental to the Catholic Church."

Here the *Tablet* certainly has the best of the argument, so far as the logic of the particular point goes. The editor had said, If you are to take consequences into account, you must take account of ALL the consequences: don't leave out the one I have put forward—the one which appears to me to outweigh all the disadvantages you mention. His idea clearly was that by a union of the Catholics all the grievances and injustices on both sides of the Channel could be remedied; on the other hand, that Repeal could be brought about only by an appeal to arms, and that such appeal would fail. On this last point he proved to be right; but as to the probability of obtaining redress of grievances he was in error. For example, in so small a matter as the fair and reasonable treatment of those Catholic prisoners who had the misfortune to fall under the jurisdiction of the

Middlesex magistrates, no exposure, no protest, no sense of decency, no regard for the pockets of the ratepayers, no pity for the poor prisoners themselves, no sense of injustice towards them, could move those bigots to allow the Catholics under their control the advantages, the consolations, the reforming effects of their own religion until nearly thirty years afterwards. But, as we shall see, Lucas altered his mind after some experience, when he found that anti-Catholic and anti-Irish bigotry was too firmly rooted in the British Protestant mind to yield to considerations of common sense or common justice.

One remark he makes which it is important to keep in view at the present day. He says (the italics and capitals are his), "*So far as we know,* THE IRISH CATHOLICS OWE THE ENGLISH CATHOLICS NO POLITICAL GRATITUDE WHATEVER. The debt—we make no secret of it—is all the other way. The gratitude is due in the very opposite direction. In this matter the coronet must stoop to the frieze. The English peer is debtor to the Irish peasant."

In conclusion he writes :—" Nothing could give us greater pain than to differ on an Irish question from our Irish friends ; but we must conclude by repeating that our course has been deliberately chosen, and will be firmly maintained. No one can seriously doubt our good wishes to Ireland. But we feel ourselves bound strenuously to oppose Repeal, because we believe it impracticable—

injurious to Ireland, if practicable—and, in addition to its other evils, calculated to inflict a grievous blow on the prosperity of the Catholic Church."

I remember well walking along the Serpentine with him on the day this article was published.[1] He expressed great anxiety as to its effect on the *Tablet*. Would O'Connell withdraw his support? It was then a matter of vital importance to the pecuniary success of the journal. "But," said he, "there was nothing else for it. The line had to be taken. What the result will be God knows."

To the honour of O'Connell, he never abated one jot of confidence in the man. And indeed the opposition was in such marked contrast to the dishonest attacks, the vile and calumnious abuse, of the English press, that all other feelings seem to have been swallowed up in admiration.

John O'Connell, on the other hand, waxed wroth when, in a second article a week later, Lucas returned to the subject, and "asked to be permitted to smile at Mr. O'Connell's strange reasoning." This was too much for Mr. John's filial temper. He declared that the *Tablet* had dwindled down into petty warfare of a low character, and he spoke of the spirit of calumny which breathed through its pages.

The editor replied:—"We have waged no petty warfare, adopted no low arts, and made use of no calumny. We beg to inform Mr. John O'Connell

[1] I do not think my memory deceives me as to the exact day. It was the first time he opposed O'Connell by name.

that we have not assumed the function of a public journalist to degrade it into that of a sycophant. It is not our part to flatter any man or set of men; to conceal our opinions on any matter of moment, because they happen to be unfashionable; or purposely to weaken the cause we espouse by a timorous and inefficient advocacy, from the dread of incurring the displeasure of those who may not wish to see it fully and efficiently supported."

No better argued or stronger case for refusing Repeal has come at any time under my notice. At any rate, the editor of the *Tablet* had a very clear view, and held it against all comers with no slack hand. If, therefore, his opinion on the subject should change, if he should admit that he had been mistaken, such conversion would only be brought about by some very cogent, not to say overwhelming, arguments, or by some new view of the facts. It is true the change would cost his self-esteem no pang; for when he saw the truth, his habit was to yield at once.

He scorned, or he would have scorned—for I doubt whether such a thing ever entered his mind—to try to show the perfect consistency of his arguments for and against. His articles are not composed after the model of those skilful masters of phrase, the careful wording of whose concluding sentences contradicts, or appears to contradict for purposes of future reference, that which seemed to have been clearly stated at the outset. Perhaps he was too lazy or too busy to attempt such a

fraud upon himself and the public. Perhaps, on the other hand, it was only that he was too honest to deceive. I think he inherited the character from his father, who was one of the justest of men.

On the 23rd of January 1841 he writes in the *Tablet*:—"We believe that no Government can safely or wisely administer the affairs of Ireland which does not govern in the *spirit* of Repeal; which does not act on the principle that Ireland as well as England must have a National Government; must be governed, not as England must be governed, but in all practicable respects as Ireland would govern herself through the means of a domestic Parliament." Ireland, he insists, requires and demands a Government of a wholly different complexion from that of England. In conclusion he says, that unless a total change in the manner of governing Ireland is introduced, we shall find that though Repeal be not granted, and there be no Parliament on College Green, yet the Union will still be disturbed—public confidence still shaken—the Government bearded by formidable associations—the whole nation organised into a complete system of quasi-affiliated clubs, and Dublin made the seat and centre of a thousand schemes of domestic legislation, while the peace of society is troubled by an incessant agitation, which will have owed its long continuance to our wilful and perverse neglect."

Lucas's insight into Irish affairs in 1841 was as keen and true as his appreciation of French

affairs in 1830. After forty-five years the words above quoted read much like a prophecy.

From this time forward for some months the question of Repeal was not again discussed in the *Tablet.* There was a clear understanding with the Repeal Association that the editor, "though not friendly to Repeal, nevertheless would never shrink from the responsibility of identifying himself with the advocacy of Irish interests, and would always earnestly put himself forward on all occasions to vindicate the Irish character, to support the Irish Catholics, and to uphold to the best of his power everything that in his judgment could tend to the development of Irish nationality."

CHAPTER VI.

THE "TRUE TABLET"—WHOSE IMAGE AND SUPERSCRIPTION IS THIS?—VISIT TO IRELAND.

THE establishment of the *Tablet*, like every undertaking that has a permanent value, was attended with great difficulties. About nine months after its first appearance, the Messrs. Keasley failed commercially, and to keep the paper from sinking Lucas had to enter into partnership with the printer. The terms gave him full control over the contents. For a while all went smoothly, but at the general election in the summer of 1841 the *Tablet* took a line distasteful alike to his partner, who was a Protestant Tory, to the Catholic Tories in general, and especially to certain Catholic Tory landlords in Yorkshire and Lancashire. Lord Stanley, the father of the present Earl of Derby, had, before the dissolution in that year, brought in a Bill for the registration of voters in Ireland. That this was intended practically to nullify the effect of the Emancipation Act was evinced by the fact that the power of summary eviction was in the hands of the landlords; and as the author of the

Bill openly avowed that the landlords expected to command the votes of the tenants, it was impossible to doubt that this power would be ruthlessly employed in case of disobedience at the polls.

Two Catholic Tory Baronets in the North of England appear also to have entertained similar notions. It was currently reported—and the truth of the report could not be reasonably questioned—that they intended, under smooth phrases, to coerce their tenants into voting against the Catholic Liberal candidates, and in favour of Orange Tories of the most violent and bigoted type. The editor of the *Tablet* expressed himself on this subject in very unsparing terms. He observed that if you compare a common pickpocket with one who coerces hundreds of tenants into voting against their consciences, the preference in point of morality and decency is in favour of the gaol-bird. This, as might be expected, was not palatable to the Catholic Tories, and a series of annoyances began which were intended to result in ousting the editor from his chair, and in replacing him by a man who had done his best some five years previously to ruin the *Dublin Review*.

I do not assert that the two Baronets referred to above were directly concerned in the manœuvre; but that a conspiracy was entered into for the purpose indicated is beyond dispute, and among

those who were notoriously implicated in it was the Earl of Shrewsbury, the chief of the Catholic Tories.

The attempt, however, failed, and its failure was in large measure due to the fact that, while the disputes to which it gave rise were at their height, Lucas received the most flattering and encouraging support from quite an unexpected quarter. At a meeting held in the Dublin Corn Exchange on the 19th of August 1841, O'Connell spoke in terms of the highest praise of the *Tablet*, and moved that "Mr. Ray be authorised to receive subscriptions" for it. It is, however, significant that he postponed the carrying out of the resolution for a week, fearing lest his support might displease English Catholics, and so do the *Tablet* more harm than good. The editor, in reply to a letter conveying a copy of this resolution, thanked O'Connell very warmly, and observed that his support was the more honourable to both of them from the fact that it was earned by no sacrifice of principle or independence. In so far, however, as the form of O'Connell's motion, considered as including the postponement of its execution, implied a want of hearty sympathy between the Catholics of England and of Ireland, the editor of the *Tablet* found himself placed in a somewhat delicate position. Making allowance for certain exceptions, he would not admit any want of sympathy between the Catholics of the two kingdoms. At any rate, if that sympathy did

not exist, it ought to exist, and he would never consent to damp or discourage this good feeling by acknowledging any doubt on the subject. He concluded by accepting the offer as frankly as it had been made, and by declaring that no narrow anti-Irish jealousies or fears from high or low would make him condescend to decline the proffered assistance.

Besides this, Lucas received encouragement of a more private kind. The dispute lasted about three months, during which a long correspondence and several interviews took place between the disputants. At length the *mala fides* of the conspirators became so apparent and so unbearable, that Lucas's patience was exhausted, and on the 26th February 1842 he brought out his paper under the name of the *True Tablet*, leaving the old name to his partner. The change of title was accompanied with some humorous circumstances. The *True Tablet* was to be published at the old office, where the accounts and lists of subscribers were kept. The possession of these was essential to the circulation of the rival paper. Early on the day before the publication the enemy effected a violent entry into the premises. But by a neat stratagem the man in possession was ejected by the publisher, and an Irish garrison drafted in to stand a threatened siege. An attack was made in force, the shutters were torn down, and a re-entry was about to be effected, when one of the defenders appeared on the roof with a loose

coping-stone in his hands and shouted "Heads below." The assailants fled, and no further attempt was made to capture the stronghold.

The consequence of the separation was that the organ of the conspirators, the pseudo-*Tablet*, died of inanition before the end of the year.

This victory, it is true, was not secured without an appeal to the support of the Catholic public on the part of the editor of the *True Tablet*; but the result of the appeal showed how high he stood in the confidence of those whose support he chiefly valued. Towards the end of the year he announced that unless £1000 were subscribed for the maintenance of the paper he would be obliged to stop its publication. He had been mulcted unjustly, and had no more money to sink. He named the late Mr. Charles Weld as trustee to the proposed fund, which was raised within a month, and the sustentation of the journal for two years thereby assured. Among the lay contributors may be named Lord Clifford, Lord Stourton, Lord Camoys, Sir Charles Wolseley, Mr. Langdale, Mr. Weld (of Lulworth), Mr. Digby, Major Huddlestone, Mr. Robert Berkeley, Mr. Delabarre Bodenham, Ten Messrs. Loughnan, Mr. Silvertop, and Sir Charles Tempest. Of prelates, Bishop Baines, the Bishops of the Western and Northern Districts, of Cloyne, of Dromore, and of British Guiana. New Hall Convent sent £10, Ushaw College £20, the Christian Brothers £10, and the clergy sub-

scribed generously. Nor was it from the United Kingdom only that money came; Belgium and Portugal forwarded their quotas. Readers who disagreed with much that the *Tablet* contained wrote commendatory letters, declaring they could not do without it. Meetings even were held in its support. While all this was proceeding, Lucas wrote several articles on the subject of the continuance of the paper. In one he avers:—"The *True Tablet* has been established and, to our certain knowledge, it has been carried on for the good of the common cause. We thank God there is not one human being, however wealthy—Catholic or Protestant—who can say that we have used our position or our power to oblige or gratify him."

In another he remarks upon—"The kind and fervent predictions of ruin which have been confidentially communicated to us fromthe 'best informed quarters.' One 'who had a great regard for him' extremely regrets the fall of the *True Tablet*, whose fate he considers sealed. 'You have made enemies who can never forgive.'"

Nor was such an expectation altogether unnatural, for, as he remarks—"The long labour (apparently) in vain, the frequent disappointments, the unexpected obstacles, the bitter hostility, the apparent exhaustion of all private sources of aid, might really, in the eyes of most people, form a tolerable excuse for despair, and even for some degree of irritation."

The clouds did not clear at once, however. Lucas felt it most prudent to retire from the secretaryship of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith—an office he had filled for several years.

The suspension or ruin of the *Tablet* at that time would have been nothing short of a calamity to the Catholic cause in these countries, being, as it was, the only Catholic organ. Nor did its importance consist only in the force and vigour of its leading articles. It was the medium through which tyranny, persecution, and bigotry were exposed in communications received week after week from the most various and distant parts of the empire. From Malta and Gibraltar, from Newfoundland and New South Wales, from Calcutta and Madura, as well as from Manchester and the manufacturing cities and from rural hamlets, a stream of letters poured in bringing before the notice of the Catholic public the grievances under which their fellow-Catholics lay and the annoyances and injustices to which they were subjected by officials high and petty. The persons attacked in these letters were sometimes led to defend themselves by falsehoods, which were again exposed.

In these days, when bigotry is less obtrusive if not less hostile, the then condition of Catholics all over the Empire will hardly be credited. The Afghan war was in progress. One half of the troops were Catholic, and no Catholic chaplain

was provided for them. It is true chaplains in time of war were unknown in the army till the Crimean struggle. Whether it was that the Protestant Government instinctively felt that chaplains of the Establishment were of no particular use in preparing men for death, I know not; but for a Catholic to be called upon to face death without the consolations of religion was an extreme hardship, and was known to be so.

In Newfoundland the Judges were in a conspiracy to uphold a system by which no single person had been called to the Bar who possessed the confidence of the Catholic majority of the Colony.

In Gibraltar the Governor exacted a scale of fees for Catholic marriages altogether beyond the means of the poor, with the result that some three hundred couples were living in concubinage.

In some Colonies, as New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the most strenuous exertions and public protests were made to prevent Catholic immigration. It was openly declared by the pious Protestants of those distant countries that they preferred Mohammedans, Chinese, or any other Pagans to Catholics.

At home, matters were equally bad, or worse, in other ways. In all the workhouses, I believe without exception, an organised system of proselytism existed in the schools, and of tyranny towards adults, not yet wholly abandoned. With

the assistance of friends like Mr. Charles Weld, Lord Clifford, Mr. Charles Waterton, and Mr. Anstey, these grievances were published and to some extent mitigated. And thus it happened that there was scarcely a convent of men or women in the country where the name of the *Tablet* was not held in benediction. The Catholic body was one—

> "Dragged up from darkness late and half alive,
> Foe-girt and cleft with treasons."

It needed to be—

> "Moulded into substance, nerved and boned
> With victories,"

to have spirit and life of some social sort breathed into it; and the Religious, who were the chief butts for the shafts of bigotry, hailed with delight a champion whose fearlessness was equal to his ability, and whose declarations in their behalf were no weak defence. But it was an uphill fight, and Lucas bore the brunt of it.

Here may be mentioned (though at the expense of some departure from chronological order) an incident which occurred in this connection—the enlargement of the *Tablet*. In the first number of the new paper, which appeared in an enlarged form on the 1st of January 1843, Lucas placed at the head of the leading columns an image of Our Lady and the Divine Infant, with the motto—

> "Sub tuum præsidum confugimus, sancta Dei genitrix."

This was altogether too much for a certain class of readers of the *Tablet;* and even Lord Stourton, who was a firm friend of the paper, having occasion to address a letter to the editor on another subject, took the opportunity of expressing his regret at this new departure on the part of the editor. He could not see without "emotions of painful feeling the revered emblems of our redemption connected with the unhallowed topics of a common journal." This letter called forth a host of others. One subscriber to the late fund thought devotion to Our Lady in a prayer-book quite legitimate, but in a newspaper he considered it "all fudge and hypocritical humbug," and would not have subscribed had he foreseen such an exhibition. Others made other objections. But O'Connell highly approved of the image. One Bishop, who might perhaps have advised abstention had he known there would be a difference of opinion on the subject, would, now that it was placed there, never withdraw it; and a priest expressed the opinion that the step was a bold one, and that by taking it the editor had "put himself fifty years in advance of English Catholics."

Lucas defended his action in this wise. Lord Stourton, among other remarks, had objected to the original motto of the *Tablet*, "My errors, if any, are my own; I have no man's proxy." Lucas quite agreed with him in disliking and censuring it. But he said the motto had only been adopted

after much discussion, in which a very uncommon amount of unanimity had been shown. All agreed that the timidity of the English Catholics was so great that care must be taken to let the world understand that no single Catholic except the editor would be compromised by the contents of the paper.

"Beware!" he was told; "the English Catholics are models to all the world of *passive* courage. They have borne a great deal of the bitterest persecution. They are in the daily habit of enduring, with the uncomplaining fortitude of martyrs, an unparalleled amount of abuse, insult, and positive injury. But they cannot endure responsibility. They will suffer children in workhouses, soldiers, sailors, the poor and the prisoner, to be mulcted of their dearest rights with the most heroic apathy; but they will never be able to endure the wasting agony of a bold and uncompromising advocacy of the rights of their religion. Therefore, as you hope to prosper, let every reader of the *Tablet* be made to feel that he has the benefit of your advocacy—such as it is—and that you take on your own shoulders all the discredit that may belong to it."

It was on this principle that the motto was originally chosen; but the fact of its removal had been overlooked. As to a new motto, it was suggested that "Suaviter in modo," "In essentiis unitas," &c., or something of that sort, would be better.

To this Lucas replied that the mottoes suggested were unobjectionable. "But after all," he says, "mottoes are like women. A woman may be as fair as our first mother, and have all the virtues of her sex, but for all that she may not suit

your fancy for a wife. So with mottoes. From some unaccountable predilection, I prefer 'We fly to thy patronage, O Holy Mother of God.'"

He remarked, further, that in Catholic countries every trade and calling has its patron saint; there are holy images over shop-doors, pious memorials by the public highway. It is not the Church that confines holy images to chapels and prayer-books; it is not the spirit of the Church to make a strict line between things eternal and the employments of time; on the contrary, she "sets up the cross in every market-place, that men may even chaffer and bargain in presence of the very Agonies which purchased their redemption." And he asks, "If so, are we to be told that a newspaper, of which holy virgins consecrated to God are neither ashamed nor afraid, is too unhallowed to be stamped with the image of the Mother and her Divine Son?"

He thought the atmospheric disturbance would have ceased in three months, and that, as that would be up at the end of March, nothing more should be said on the subject till the 1st of April. But this was not to be. Letters poured in on both sides; among others, one from Dr. McHale, Archbishop of Tuam, approving the image. The controversy was wound up by a declaration in which correspondents were assured that "all the subscribers within the four seas should not tempt him to change."

In connection with this controversy it may be

observed that Lucas had a rooted dislike to what was called the "sacred privacy of religion." The emblem was a protest against a prevalent Exeter Hall calumny, which asserted that Catholics gave divine worship to Our Lady. Nobody could believe that Lucas was guilty of idolatry. It was well, therefore, to show openly that he was not ashamed of proclaiming the honour due to the Mother of God. The calumny was one of those alluded to ten years later by Dr. Newman in his celebrated lecture entitled "True Testimony Insufficient for the Protestant View." It required some hard blows to destroy it. This was one of the first of them.

CHAPTER VII.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT—ATTACKS ON MR. NEWMAN AND DEFENCE OF HIM—THE JERUSALEM BISHOPRIC.

To an outsider the development of the Tractarian movement must have been very puzzling while it lasted. It took its rise in an Establishment a necessary condition of whose existence is the denial, actual or practical, implicit or explicit, of every single dogma of the Catholic Church. A very large proportion of its ministers were aggressively hostile, and many of them evidently dishonest in their hostility. The remainder were neutral till something should arise to awaken their dormant hatred on one side, or sympathy on the other. Allowing, as the Establishment does, the profession of every contradictory view, from the broadest latitudinarianism to something that, to superficial observers, looks like Catholicism, it declares the uncertainty of every doctrine and permits the denial of all.

The Bishop of Norwich, in a debate on a petition to be alluded to more at length presently, admitted that he did not know a single Protestant clergyman who believed the whole of the Thirty-nine Articles; so that, were the Establishment

to affirm any one of them positively, a schism would inevitably follow—that is, if the objectors dared to risk their stipends by speaking their minds.

But there was no likelihood of the Establishment doing anything of the kind; for this divergence of opinion (of which the logical outcome is the Agnosticism of the present day) was not a mere concession to an inevitable and unpleasant necessity; it was one of the only two positive articles in the creed of the Establishment: it was something to boast of, and Anglicans prided themselves upon it. One article was the divine character of compromise in the matter of religious truth, and the other that the Catholic religion is an intolerable falsehood. Nevertheless, out of this congeries of anti-Catholic sects another sect was arising whose tendency seemed to be towards Catholicism. Uneasy at their own position, yet still full of prejudices against Rome, the leaders of the movement found it necessary, both for their own internal peace of mind and for their justification before the Protestant world, to continue to abuse the Catholic Church and religion. Whither they were going, and what was to be the upshot of this curious movement, whether it would end only in adding one more new heretical sect to those already covered by the Nessus-robe of contradictions in which the Anglican Church enfolds its victims, Lucas avowed he could not foresee. The spectacle aroused great fears on

the Anglican side and exaggerated hopes on that of Catholics.

There is, I think, no instance in the life of my brother in which he showed more penetration and a more even balance of mind than in his treatment of the Tractarian movement, and of the chief men concerned in it. It had been in progress about ten years, and among the converts whom it brought into the Church were poets, painters, architects, philosophers, historians, but very few of the Anglican clergymen, when the *Tablet* first took notice of it. From that time (1841) till the conversion of Mr. Newman in October 1845, the movement occupied the close attention of the editor.

There was a school of Catholics, of whom the late Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps may be taken as the type, who believed that the reunion of the Anglican Society with the Catholic Church would not be difficult; that the chasm which separated Anglicanism from the Catholic Church was small; who spoke of Andrewes, Laud, Jeremy Taylor, and the rest as "bishops," and of the "other Churches" united with that of Rome. They objected to the new sect being called Puseyites, or indeed a *sect* at all, since it would be easy to show that they alone were the genuine representatives of their own "Church." Catholics of this school appear to have thought that a union might be brought about by soft phrases, by ignoring the fact that the fundamental principle of the Anglican Establishment is a protest against the primacy of the

Holy See and a repudiation of the Decrees of the Council of Trent. It was a singular view to take in the face of Dr. Pusey's own description of the Catholic Church as "incurable," "pestilential," "an insanity," "a demoniac," "an Anti-Christ," &c., &c. Still the view was maintained with a good deal of pertinacity.

Now Lucas did not understand that kind of charity which consists in flattering men in their errors and delusions, and in allowing them, for want of plain speaking, to continue to hug their errors. To individuals he was always most courteous, but he thought it a very great unkindness to withhold the truth, to abstain from pointing out the real character of the fallacy or deceit. He thought that to give the terms "church" and "bishop" to Protestants was one way of teaching them to fancy themselves members of the Church of Christ, and that "by withholding such terms you begin the work of disabusing them from their errors." This way of looking at the matter was extremely distasteful to a number of Catholics, and Lucas had to bear a good deal of obloquy in consequence. He was driving people away from the truth: he was violent: why could he not polish his weapons? You catch more flies with honey than with vinegar. These and similar phrases are specimens of the highly moral rubbish which was pelted at him. He continued the even tenor of his way, not moved out of his course by a single inch. He thought every weapon allowable by which the

truth could be brought home to men's minds,—irony, banter, and sarcasm among the rest. These weapons are, no doubt, irritating; but then they are very effective. They are like a night attack with small arms on a camp in the desert. If they do not cause many actual casualties, they prevent sleep, and make the enemy very uneasy. In illustration of these remarks, and of the general attitude taken by the *Tablet* towards the Tractarian leaders, I quote at considerable length an article in which Lucas dealt (1.) with the publication of Tract XC., and (2.) with a certain petition to the House of Lords, signed by thirty Protestant clergymen, which aimed at bringing the Articles "into more consistency with the practice and acknowledged system of the Established Church." In reference to this petition the editor writes:—"If it be the whim of Anglican divines to swear one thing and mean another, be it so, in Heaven's name. We do not take much interest in knowing whether the ethical code of the Establishment be purer or less pure than that of Pagan moralists. We only wish to ask one question: How were this petition and these avowals received by the public organs of latitudinarianism? Were the thirty parsons denounced as rogues? Was the Bishop of Norwich held up as a violator of his trust? . . . Was he warned that he had but two courses, either to preach the Articles which he had signed, or to renounce the dignity and the income he had acquired on the faith of that signa-

ture? Unless our memory grievously deceives us, we should answer, *By no means*. . . . We never hear these liberal clergymen invited to forsake their dioceses, sees, and livings, if they cannot bring themselves to believe what they have promised to believe and to support. . . .

"Very different is the scene, however, when a different class of men claim the benefit of this wise comprehensiveness; and when, without abandoning the letter of the Articles, they strive *within* the Articles to build up a consistent and tolerable scheme of theology, in which some of the main features of Christianity shall not be banished. The attempt to do this is denounced as a fraud on the Establishment. . . . As for us, we are merely spectators in the game, with no peculiar interest in anything but fair play; and though we believe the enterprise in which the Puseyites are engaged is too like the drudgery of making bricks without straw; though we think much of their reasoning sophistical, their distinctions fine-drawn, their conclusions unsound and untenable; though we lament to see men of their stature and sinew grinding in the mill with blinded eyes; yet we cannot but say that there is about them a far greater appearance of honesty than about those opponents of theirs by whom their honesty is assailed."

The editor then goes on to discuss Tract XC. at such length as was possible in a newspaper article of those days, when men had time to think. Among other passages in the Tract the following occurs:—

"SHE (the Church of Rome) ALONE, amid all the errors and evils of her practical system, *has given free scope to the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, reverence, devotedness, and other feelings which may be especially called Catholic.*"

The article comments thus:—

"We shall not easily be induced to think ill of a writer who has the boldness and candour to make this avowal, exposing him, as it does and must, to no inconsiderable share of obloquy and ill-will. We are not prejudiced in his favour by this admission, for in truth we value it chiefly for his own sake; but we do honour him for his manliness and courage in selecting the time when he is made the butt for every puny logician who knows how to construct a fallacy, for every small theologian who has learning enough to misquote a Father, for every poor worldling who shows his religion by dealing in calumny and abuse, in selecting such a time as this for making so dangerous and so honest an admission."

The writer then proceeds to inquire what those men who defend an open act of insincere subscription know of high honour and high principle, that they should pour their indignation upon Mr. Newman because he tries to make his belief square with the Articles he signs. "If," he says, "the 'evasions' of Oriel are flagrant crimes, it must go very hard indeed with the thirty clergymen patronised by Dr. Whately and the 'number-

less' acquaintances of the liberal Bishop of Norwich."

When the *Tracts for the Times* were discontinued, my brother congratulated Mr. Newman on his obedience to his Bishop, giving him entire credit for sincerity and candour, but he avowed that Mr. Newman's recent publications convinced him that that divine had approached much nearer to Catholicism than he chose to acknowledge (to himself); that he was casting painfully about for obstacles to any further progress in this direction, and that in his extremity he could not afford to be very nice as to the materials of which these obstacles were made; and he says, "From this most dangerous, unhappy, and humiliating state, we pray God to send him a speedy and safe deliverance."

To conclude, Lucas was glad to see Mr. Newman in retirement, for his own sake, that he might be freed from the temptation to stand by an opinion once expressed.

This is how the position into which Mr. Newman had come struck a candid mind. There is no concealment of the danger of the attitude in which the learned Anglican found himself; no flattery, nothing to buoy him up with satisfaction. None of that kind of interference which Mr. Newman himself resented on the part of "charitable Catholics;" none of that "physic concealed in jam," which must be simply nauseous to any "Englishman who likes manliness, openness, con-

sistency, truth," and of which he says that "Rome will never gain on us till she learns these virtues and uses them."

The "charitable Catholics," who were very severe upon the *Tablet*, were, as usual, a little out of their reckoning.

This was early in 1841. I am not writing a history of the Tractarian movement. But towards the end of that year one of the queerest acts that has ever taken place since the days of the Roman Augurs was committed by certain solemn sages of two nations. The Lutheran Prussians and the Protestant English concluded to send a joint bishop to Jerusalem, not to rule an Anglican or Lutheran flock already there, but to *make* a community of such, with the addition of something less than half-a-dozen converted Jews. How this move affected the Puseyites does not concern us here. Cardinal Newman has told us that in his *Apologia*. But how it affected the mind of Lucas the following rather copious extracts from the *Tablet* of April 2, 1842, will show. The article will repay perusal. It is partly historical, partly ironical, partly picturesque, and in part prophetic. (The "Bishop's" name was Alexander.)

"The avowed objects of his mission are numerous and discordant. He is sent out to fraternise with German Protestants. He is sent out to fraternise with Orthodox Greeks. He is sent out to make no converts. He is sent out to

convert the Jews. He is sent out to expound the Augsburg Confession. He is sent out to uphold the Thirty-nine Articles," and for half-a-dozen other contradictory purposes. "He is sent out to expel the Seven Sacraments of Trent and of Florence by the aid of the Seven Sacraments of Constantinople. He is sent out to inspire respect for the Anglican religion and the self-denying spirit of its ministers, and he carries in his train a troop of little 'bishoplings,' as the *Times* calls them, and a 'bishopess' in a condition which promises a further reinforcement of this spiritual progeny—

> 'With silken coats, and caps, and golden rings;
> With ruffs and cuffs, and farthingales, and things,' &c.

We do not wish to speak disparagingly of the 'Apostle of the Circumcision,' as his friends funnily call him, but really we must be allowed to say that a person may be excused who, puzzled by all this ludicrous discordancy of motive, of object, and of machinery, fancies he sees beneath the outward pretences of religion some more secular design that smacks half of the Stock Exchange and half of the diplomacy of the Foreign Office. But at all events, after a long and sea-sick voyage, with all these duties on his back, and all this household luggage in his train, the namesake of the apostolic coppersmith reaches the holy shore, lands, and marches up to Jerusalem. Nor does the assemblage of incongruities

end with the debarcation. It is the great Mahometan festival of Kirban Beiram. The whole Turkish and idle and curious population of Jerusalem have turned out into the streets to view the celebration of the Oriental ceremonies. . . . At nightfall the Turkish guns thunder forth their salute for the Holy Time; and in the great square the stuffed effigy of a man—an Oriental Guy Fawkes—a grotesque figure resembling, or afterwards supposed to be intended to resemble, an Anglican 'family' bishop, is being burnt amidst the hootings and inextinguishable laughter of the Turkish mob. Just at this time, amid the squeeze, and the smell and the noise of the firing, and the profane jests of the public square, the man of doubtful orders enters the Bethlehem gate of the city, with a long procession to do him honour. Colonel Rose, the English Consul, is the chief of his European escort. A troop of the Pasha's janissaries, in compliment to the Colonel, not the Doctor, swell the throng. The Bishop, with his episcopal legs thrown across a stout cob, moves slowly forward, gladdened by these signs of welcome (which he doubtless appropriates to himself alone), and thinking cheerily of his future labours. The bishopess follows him in 'a large *taterwan* or Oriental litter,' supported before and behind by stout mules, thinking cheerily, as became her condition, of *her* future labours also; and (like Cleopatra sailing upon 'the river Cydnus' to meet Anthony)—

'On each side of her
Stood pretty dimpled boys like smiling Cupids.'

Or, in plain prose, the junior portion of her family, with their rattles, teething-rings, and nursery accoutrements, were packed up with the lady in 'the large *taterwan.*' And in this way did Anglican Protestantism, pretending that it had come to 'lend a helping-hand' to the orthodox but 'anathematised' professors of a subject and trampled creed, wend its way up the streets of Jerusalem with a splendour borrowed from the solemnities of a hostile and ruling faith. . . . The Pasha has received his 'right reverence,' accompanied, we imagine, by his lady and the 'little flock,' with the greatest affability, as a distinguished 'English traveller;' but has refused to admit him on any official footing. And the Christian congregation have not treated their pastor with so much respect even as the Pasha manifested. . . . What the motive may have been we know not, but the *Augsburg Gazette* announces that the delivery of one of his first sermons was greeted on the part of his Christian auditors with a shower of stones. And another authority says that his life is actually in danger.

"A bishop pelted with stones! a bishop dirtied with mud! a bishop's wife frightened, and threatened perhaps with a miscarriage! A bishop's children, after the flesh, in danger of being left orphans! 'It must not be,' says the *Times.* 'The capital you have laid out in this silly affair

will be wasted. Our diplomatic relations with Turkey will be compromised. Our "Apostle of the Circumcision" will perhaps go the way of all flesh.' It is too true. The Anglican Establishment, the State of England, the King of Prussia have patched up such an odd mission for him, that he knows no more than the rest of the world what his business is. One thing we are positive of, that it is *not* the business of this amiable father of a family 'to embrace the crown of martyrdom.'

"We end our remarks on this strange affair by a reflection drawn from natural history. The mules which carried the Bishop's lady into Jerusalem we regard as emblematical. They were the offspring of two different species of animals, just as Dr. Alexander's bishophood is the offspring of at least two different species of Churches. By virtue of their parentage, the four-footed animals shall never have any issue or propagate their hybrid race. Neither shall the bishophood of this potent father after the flesh have any issue after the spirit. The beasts and the Bishop are both, in their respective kinds, doomed to perpetual barrenness."

This prophecy has, I believe, been literally fulfilled.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRACTARIANS NO NEARER TO THE CHURCH THAN OTHER HERETICS—EXAGGERATED EXPECTATIONS—TREATMENT OF MR. PALMER, MR. NEWMAN, MR. OAKELEY, AND MR. WARD—INTRODUCTION OF MR. WARD TO JOHN STUART MILL.

FOR a twelvemonth after the discontinuance of the "Tracts" there was a lull in the public excitement over the Oxford movement. Other questions, as we have seen, claimed attention. About the month of April 1843 letters from Mr. Phillipps appeared again in the *Tablet*, and the editor felt called upon to reply to them. Mr. Phillipps spoke for Catholics who had founded great hopes of the movement on a ground which Lucas considered altogether mistaken, viz., that the Tractarians were nearer the truth than, for example, the Dissenters. Lucas repudiated any such notion. He protested against giving any practical preference whatever to Anglicanism on that ground; because, he said, you cannot cut up the Faith of Christ into little bits and say such a one has more of it than another, and is therefore to be preferred. The Faith, he said, is one whole, and a man either has the whole of it or none at all. A door must be either open or shut.

He was not indeed without hope that many conversions would take place, but these hopes were not based upon the supposed ground just referred to. Standing alone, that argument would make it more reasonable to expect conversions from the Russian Church. Lucas grounded his hopes for the Puseyites on the fact that they were uneasy, and were on the move; that the waters of their belief were troubled, and therefore one might hope that it was an angel of God who had stirred them. When Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching in the precincts of the University by a certain Board of Arbitration appointed by the University itself, a schism in the Establishment was anticipated. The editor of the *Tablet* looked forward to no such result. In the first place, the suspension was a piece of merely local police; the authority did not extend beyond the University itself. He did not believe that the Bishop of Oxford, whose genius was compromise, and who had *suppressed* the Tracts without *condemning* them, was at all likely to follow the Board. Differing on all manner of fundamental questions, there was one article that Frederick Lucas thought they were entirely agreed upon, namely, that "money is money." The essence of Anglicanism was, he considered, really pecuniary; and so long as they were of "one mind and one faith" on this point, other differences would be patched up. An Establishment which did not care how many were the false subscriptions to its Articles did not seem to

contain the elements of a schism. He believed that the suspension had been obtained by means of what was practically a packed jury, and that for this reason also it would not tend to create a schism. He writes: "Never let us forget that the Establishment at this present moment reflects the character of the English nation, and in both one may discern the same characteristics. Is the nation honest? No! Neither is the Establishment. Does the nation prefer principle to plunder? No! Neither does the Establishment. Does the nation mind how many hecatombs of lives are sacrificed to earn conquests for her abroad, how many oaths are violated to buy her party successes at home? No! As the nation does, so does the Establishment."

Still many Catholics cherished what Lucas considered exaggerated expectations, and he told the Tractarians plainly that the gain to the Catholic Church by the conversion of any or many of them was nothing at all in comparison with the gain to themselves individually. And he added, "We have used and continued to use this language because we are sure that no sensible Puseyite can mistake the stern but true warnings of a friend for the hostile front of an enemy, and because we have the greatest abhorrence of that most cruel of all policies, which overlays and smothers its victims with excess of flattery."

This will account to the reader for what many regarded as unwarrantable severity on the part

of Lucas. It was his conviction that great harm to the Tractarians themselves was likely to arise from injudicious praise, and he felt bound to oppose the well-intentioned but mistaken flatteries in language stronger than would otherwise have been needful. But when it came to be a personal matter, he tempered his remarks according to his estimate of the individual character. As before mentioned, he had not inherited, neither had he acquired, any respect for, nor sympathy with, the Church of England. His education had not been such as to encourage either, and his road to Rome had lain through no territory friendly to the Establishment. His only ground of sympathy, then, with the Tractarians lay in the fact of their evident desire to arrive at the truth, and it was an act of kindness to point out the dangers and difficulties of the journey.

On one point he was especially outspoken, namely, on the discussion of conversions before they happened. In an eloquent passage he displays his estimate of the kind of conversation current on this topic. He says :—" A recent writer, rebuking the noisy ostentation of this age, takes notice of the extent to which the advertisement system has been carried in trade and commerce. Alas! we have in our Holy of Holies the same advertisement system—the same system of puffing, proclaiming, and hawking about; making known by the ringing of bells and the blowing of trumpets every little bubble that breaks the surface of the

rather sluggish and turbid stream which goes under the name of Catholicism in England. Sometimes, indeed, the braying of trumpets is so preposterously loud that the agitation of the air breaks the bubble, and the thing passes away and dies under the vehemence of its own glorification. We confess we hate and loathe this practice of universal publicity, with its consequence, this straining after effect and immediate notoriety. But that now ordinarily happens to the operations of the soul in her inner chamber which modern gimcrack ingenuity has effected for the labours of the honey-bees. The old-fashioned beehive was of homely materials, like the living of the older days. It was thatched together of straw, and it was warm, and silent, and retired. The bees' work was a mystery that went on in darkness, and men gathered the fruit of it when it was mature, and thanked God and admired His ways, and said one to another, 'Behold how God in all His creatures works.' And this was once very much the way with the labours and travails of the secret soul. They too went on in silence, and the man laboured and was troubled within himself, and he strove with the powers of darkness, and struggled to overcome the evil one; and it was much if he acquainted one or two of his nearest intimates with the workings of his heart, and he blushed to give utterance to the strange conflicts within him. But in these modern times we have with line and rule invented wooden

hives for our bees, cold, comfortless tenements, and we have fitted them up with panes of glass and little trap-doors to cover the same, so that now we can call our friends and neighbours about us, and by the turning of a hinge can show them the secret operations of nature, and compel the insects to bring their mysteries to the light of day. In like manner with the human soul. We have got panes of glass, and little opening doors let into that too; and by the fashion of the times we can drag any and every poor unfortunate before us, and compel him to open this door, and give us a peep into the inmost recesses of his conscience, and transact the holiest mysteries of his life before the vulgarest of vulgar audiences. It is even so. Woe be to the man upon whom the curiosity of this all-devouring age has fixed its polluting brand. For such a one the sacred quiet of his life has vanished for ever. The man is watched, and every tick of his soul is minuted. No matter what is going on within him; we stain and soil everything with our licentious craving after novelty. If we think the grace of God is moving him to virtue, we run to the man's window, and there through the glass we note its operations, and duly publish them with scientific minuteness alongside of barometrical and meteorological observations. With watch in hand we note down that on Friday the 24th instant, at twelve minutes past ten P.M., the grace of God had got to *such* a point, had risen *so* high, and great hopes are

entertained that, if all goes on well, the point of blood-heat will be reached before the close of the year. Statistical tables are kept by the curious in such matters. In all companies it is buzzed about, 'Well, how is so and so going on *now?* Has he made much way yet?' To which the answer is (as is usual in the case of *confinements*, spiritual and other), 'Oh, he is doing quite as well as can be expected. He was lifted out of the bed of Indifference two days ago by a great effort, and made to sit up in the easy-chair of Latitudinarianism. Yesterday he took two or three short walks up and down the Authority of the Church, and on the whole he really seems in a fair way to get the use of his legs very speedily.' And then all this is noted down and sent off post-haste to a religious newspaper, and in this sort of pillory alone will they allow the poor wretch to save his soul! Oh, for God's sake, let us learn to keep silence about these things; and if we ever must talk about them, let our talk have some savour of modesty and reserve."

It may be of interest to place before the reader the estimate which Lucas formed of some of the leaders of the movement, viz., Mr. Newman, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Oakeley, and Mr. Ward.

Some vehement abuse of Rome had been indulged in by several of the Tractarian party; but it was abuse of various qualities. "In some cases," writes Lucas in an article on the subject, "we take

it for granted that the writer does not know the direction in which he is drifting, . . . and that his vehement recalcitrations are nothing but the last symptoms of an old terror begotten by a time-honoured but imaginary spectre—the image, namely, of Rome as it has always appeared to his disordered imagination. . . . Mr. Newman has often used harsh language towards the Church, but it was always easy to see that, however sincere the language, there was an under-current in another direction. He abused Rome only; but seemed to sympathise with friends who approached the Church, even on account of the approximation. But Mr. Palmer not only abuses Rome, but denounces his quondam allies as traitors for their sympathies with Rome." There was no mistaking his animus at that time.

Mr. Newman's progress was very slow. Lucas had made up his mind, as we saw, in a week. Mr. Newman could hardly be said to be making haste even slowly. And when he published, early in 1844, the Life of St. Stephen Harding, Lucas, who reviewed the volume, was fairly at a loss to account for difficulties which Mr. Newman still found insurmountable. It was said that he thought he was doing more service to God by retaining his then position in order to help others on their way to the Church; and there were certain expressions which might seem to give countenance to such a notion. My brother did not believe the tale. At the same time he might be mistaken, and with

all the candour of a true friend he gave this warning:—

"Either the Church of Rome is the true Church or it is not. . . . If not, any such policy (as the above) can have no place. . . . If it be the true Church, which he intends to enter, he can only enter it by condemning his present course; by repenting his present 'policy' as a sin; by acknowledging that to remain out of communion with Rome willingly for a moment, and upon any pretext, is *pro tanto* a rejection of the grace of God. . . . How does he know that this very minute may not be his last? . . . We need hardly ask how he knows that a more convenient season will ever arrive to him."

It was not this kind of writing to which Mr. Newman alludes in his letter to Dr. Russell of Maynooth in 1842, and in which he says:—

"There is indeed an incipient movement of our Church towards yours, and this your leading men are doing all they can to frustrate by their unwearied efforts, at all risks, to carry off individuals."

No such charge can be brought against the editor of the *Tablet*.

In December 1844, Mr. Oakeley wrote a letter of three columns to that journal, to explain why he and his friends did not join the Roman Communion.

In his remarks on this letter the editor expresses his hearty agreement with everything Mr. Oakeley

says of the spiritual defects of the great body of English Roman Catholics. He avows that he has never scrupled to say so on very many occasions; that he likes to have the same thoughts sounded in his readers' ears from without; and that he is glad to have the damage which Catholics are doing, not only to their own souls but to those outside, pressed home upon his fellow-Catholics. Only there is just one little drawback to the efficacy of the remonstrance, namely, that it comes from one who suffers not from the Catholic defect. However true it may be that in former times the Anglican Establishment may have been wanting in the mark of holiness, *now*, at any rate, in these last days, and "within our own experience at least, our Church has put forth essentially the same fruit as yours." The editor is delighted to find the Puseyites so holy; but could wish that they had not so keen a sense of their holiness. He corrects some historical errors into which Mr. Oakeley falls. But he refrains from writing at much length, and quits the subject begging pardon for his intolerable presumption, since Mr. Oakeley had said "we know all they would say."

Mr. Ward the editor treated differently. He had a very high opinion of him, as a man "of great depth of genius, great honesty, and manfulness of purpose." He thought there was a healthy, spirited, resolute generosity of tone in his writings, "which must charm and please all who could read

them," and he would be sorry to see him persecuted, punished, or in any way unhandsomely treated. This was in reference to the "Ideal of a Christian Church." There was a proposal to bring the question of the condemnation of this work before the Convocation of Oxford. This my brother did not think satisfactory at all. What Mr. Ward required was to be made as uneasy as possible. But any merely local condemnation, as in the case of Dr. Pusey, would fail to have that effect. The resolutions against Dr. Ward appeared very "comical" to Lucas, because the last of the three, in fact, stultified the first two. The first condemned the book as inconsistent with the Articles; the second proposed to deprive Mr. Ward of his degrees; the third proposed an alteration in the mode of subscribing the Articles at the Vice-Chancellor's discretion.

"By the new mode of signing, the subscriber is to profess that he signs them 'in the sense in which in my conscience I believe they were first published, and are now proposed by the University, as the sure and indubitable sign of my opinions.' . . . Instead of explaining the meaning of the Articles, they take two tests of their meaning—one of which is contradictory to itself and changing, the other equally contradictory and *un*changing—and both taken together, therefore, being, very possibly at the present moment, and certainly at some future period, *opposite contradictories.*"

There would evidently not be much in this to make Mr. Ward uneasy.

The condemnation was pronounced, the farcical tragedy was enacted, and for six months Mr. Ward remained in the Establishment. Meantime Lucas did not fail to point out to him his position. He cannot understand the miserable quibbles by which Mr. Ward prevails on himself to sign an Article which condemns the faith of Rome, while he openly declares that he "accepts all the doctrines of the Roman Church." He does not for himself doubt Mr. Ward's sincerity, "but he must be excused if he finds it very easy to understand how less friendly critics believe sincerity not to be his strong point."

In August or early September 1845 Mr. Ward published a "proclamation" intended to prove his consistency in defending the Establishment at one time and in becoming a Catholic at another. Lucas told him plainly that he was not consistent, and that he would have done much better not to try and make out that he was so. However, he said :—

"He is only now at the commencement of his conversion, and old habits of thought will cling to him and are not easily got rid of. In due time, and by the grace of the Sacraments, he will become, we doubt not, a useful and effective member of the Church. As such, at least *as a member*, whether useful or not, we offer him our cordial congratulations. But we tell him what

we think of his letters; first, because we think it an act of kindness to help him to get completely rid of his past delusions; secondly, because we regret that the effect of so notable an occurrence as his conversion has been considerably weakened by an exhibition of tenacity in hugging his old sophisms, instead of that hearty and magnanimous self-accusation which would so much better have become both himself and the cause he is embracing."

Mr. Ward was a hard hitter and liked dealing with men of his own calibre. The effect of this very plain speaking was fully appreciated, and the two men became mutual friends and admirers. Their acquaintance began in the year 1846. Mr. Ward wished to be introduced to John Stuart Mill, and asked a friend to procure him, if possible, an introduction. The friend replied that there would be no difficulty if he did not object to the intermediary, naming Lucas. "Why should I?" said Mr. Ward. "Well, he has said some hard things about you." "No matter," was the response, and the two introductions followed accordingly. The acquaintance thus begun soon ripened into friendship.

A little more than a month after Mr. Ward's conversion, as all the world knows, Mr. Newman made his final submission. On this occasion my brother paid a tribute to the renowned convert from which the following is an extract. He congratulates him "warmly and with the most

devoted affection on his happy conversion, and his readers on their share in the fortunate event." He continues: "God knows it fills us with a joy we cannot adequately express, and with expectations sufficiently sanguine (we think), though not quite so sanguine as those of some better hopers among ourselves. May God prosper him in every way; and from the first hour of his baptism to the last of his breath, may the Almighty deign, after His own good will, to use him unremittingly in the noblest service this world can witness.

"No one can fairly charge him with cowardice, or rashness, or any form of affectation, or perversity of mind, or that cloudy apprehension of affairs which springs from a warped understanding, or from the domination of unreasonable partialities or aversions. In all his public acts there has appeared a singular fairness, openness, and evenness of mind. No one can say of him that he has taken any step under the influence of ill-regulated passions or incongruous impetuosity. With his *whole* mind he has composedly examined and maturely weighed every part of the subject under his consideration. We may almost say that no nook or cranny of it has escaped his searching glance."

The loss to the Establishment by Mr. Newman's conversion was, the editor continues, the loss of "the largest mind, and most penetrating intellect lately to be found, at least among her ecclesiastical children. But after all, that such a

man should have brought over to the camp of truth the stores of his profound learning and of his active and penetrating intelligence was the least part of what had occurred."

The "Church would no doubt rejoice as the shepherd over the finding of the lost sheep. . . . But she will not exult or boast over him. All natural capacities, great and small, are her natural tributaries; they are her inalienable property. . . . She uses them, purifies them, gives them a sound . . . direction, patronises them, gives them a new value, and rewards them for the petty services they render her. But she does not need them, nor does her cause depend upon them. In her foundation, when her difficulties and her needs were greatest, not many wise according to the flesh were called to her feast."

The most important point was the extent of his following. Quite a number of people, lay and clerical, had chosen Mr. Newman for their guide and leader; and this with an admirable inconsistency. They quarrelled with the forms of ultra-Protestantism because these left men to "the unauthorised guidance of teachers self-chosen and self-choosing. . . . Yet these men were the followers of a man! They were, then, the most ultra of Protestants. They first chose their Church, then their party in the Church, and then they chose a man as the interpreter of that party. They followed him through all his changes, from the time when he was an ardent anti-Romanist to his final change."

It was a singular phenomenon. The immediate results were more in accordance with Lucas's expectations than with those of the more sanguine lookers-on. The end has not yet been seen. The whole movement will probably prove to have been one of the most important historical events in this century. Its consequences still continue to show themselves.

Referring to Dr. Pusey's well-known letter on this occasion to the *English Churchman*, Lucas points out that it would be a gross want of charity even to admit that, till the Anglican organisation ceases to be what it is, a camp set up against that of the Lord of Hosts, any Catholic can think well of it.

No very long time after these events Lucas ceased to write about the Oxford movement. Mr. David Lewis of Jesus College was introduced to him, and in his hands was placed the conduct of the *Tablet* in all that referred to the Anglican Church.

CHAPTER IX.

SIR JAMES GRAHAM'S EDUCATION BILL—THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE—PRAYERS IN COMMON WITH PROTESTANTS—MIXED MARRIAGES.

THE year 1843 was one in which the subject of this memoir distinguished himself in many directions. The wonderful grasp of Catholic principles and practices which he had acquired within four years from his conversion filled his fellow-Catholics with astonishment. He put to shame men brought up in the Church, whose whole surroundings had been Catholic, and whose peculiar associations should, in several instances, have made them familiar with the matters discussed. His activity and energy enabled him to accomplish with ease the labour of several men. There was a secret in this. He was a man given to saying a good many prayers; and, strangely as it may sound in many ears, his chief devotion was that of the poorest Irishwoman, viz., the recital of the Rosary.

In the session of this year, Sir James Graham brought in a Bill to place the education of factory children in the hands of the Anglican Establishment. By this Bill it was sought to provide for and enforce the education of children working in fac-

tories. Every master of a school was to be required to teach the Protestant version of the Holy Scriptures: no child was to work in a factory without a school certificate; but no Catholic schoolmaster was to be allowed to give certificates unless his school were under Government inspection, and even then not to a child of Protestant parents, even though the parents wished him to go to a Catholic school. Anglican schoolmasters were perfectly unfettered in this respect. These provisions the *Tablet* described as *infernal.* The sensation created by the attempt was enormous, for the Dissenters were almost as much affected as the Catholics, since the teaching of the Scriptures was practically to be placed in the hands of the parsons. Thousands of petitions were sent up from all parts of the country against the Bill. Wherever a hundred Dissenters were congregated, such a petition was prepared and duly forwarded to the House. These petitions were "laid on the table" in sheaves: one member presented ninety-two in a batch. Outside the Establishment hostility was with one exception universal. The Catholic aristocracy approved the principle of the Bill. The Catholic clergy and the bulk of the laity were opposed to its provisions. The speech of Sir James Graham in introducing it gave great offence, for, in spite of the patent fact, he dared to declare that every attempt at proselytism was fully guarded against. On the first debate the English Catholic members were silent.

The only word on behalf of the Catholics was spoken by William Smith O'Brien, the Protestant member for Limerick. On the motion for the second reading, Mr. Ewart, an English Protestant, stated the Catholic case fully and with fairness, saying that the Catholics had peculiar cause for complaint, and that by the Bill their children were almost excluded from education, and therefore from work. Nevertheless Lord Arundel and Surrey said that, "as a Catholic, he felt bound to declare that as long as there was a Church Establishment it must be predominant, and must of necessity be administrative in any system of general or national education established by Parliament; and further, that 'the Bill was framed in a most just and fair spirit.'" So that when Mr. Hawes, member for Lambeth, defended the Catholics against the Bill, Sir James Graham demolished his objection by quoting Lord Surrey's words.

Naturally, Lucas was utterly indignant at this abandonment of the cause of the poor Catholics. In a leader the *Tablet* said that since Mr. Langdale (who was no longer a Member) had left the House, "he could not conceive of what possible use, in the order of Providence, such creatures as the English Catholic members might be, and what might be their 'final cause' in the order of animate or inanimate nature, unless it was to be kicked by the other professors of 'our common Christianity;'" and, moreover, that he had "long

known the danger Catholic interests incur by having to endure the encumbrance of aristocratic patronage."

Not content with this betrayal of the interests of our poor, the noble Lord had proceeded to beg for a small grant of money "for badly circumstanced Catholic schools." The abject humiliation of this proceeding excited in the editor no pleasant feelings. He remarks: "This Lord first gives up our right and then licks his enemies' feet for alms! Good English Catholic!"

But is it conceivable? Not only had the foremost English Catholics placed the interests of the poor in the hands of Lord Surrey, but, with very few exceptions, they, together with the Catholic Institute, backed the Earl and condemned the *Tablet*. The editor was, however, at once supported in telling language by the Bishop of Glasgow, by the Vicar-Apostolic of the Eastern District of England, by Lord Clifford, and others. What astonished many was the attitude of the Catholic Institute. This was an association something like the present Catholic Union. O'Connell had been one of its earliest supporters in 1839, but it had dwindled and shrunk through the combined[1] action and inaction of its aristocratic members, and had scarcely been heard of for many months till this opportunity of distinguish-

[1] The history of the Institute has been told in three articles in the *Month*, June, July, August 1884. These articles are worth the perusal of Catholics generally at this day.

ing itself arose. At this time it included twenty-two bishops, three earls, six lords, nine baronets, and some forty gentlemen of property, whose names figured at the head of the list of members. It might be supposed to have had some political power if properly worked. Its course was peculiar. After waiting for weeks, a meeting of the committee was called (per advertisement), with flourish of trumpets and drums. It met. Speeches were made; resolutions insisting on the injustice of the scheme towards Catholic children were passed; a form of petition embodying the grounds of dissatisfaction was (not prepared, but) *to be* prepared, and "the marked thanks of the committee were given to the Earl of Surrey for his noble and talented advocacy of the cause," and he was requested to present the petitions—when he got them.

This made the *Tablet* more indignant than ever. The editor likened the committee to Mr. Snodgrass at Ipswich, who, while Sam Weller was engaged in knocking down the "specials" who had Mr. Pickwick in custody, announced in a loud voice that he was "going to begin," and with the utmost deliberation proceeded to take off his coat.

So the Catholic Institute. "It bullies, but thanks Lord Surrey for his cowardice. It passes valorous resolutions, and glorifies itself in having had the courage to recede from them. It talks big and talks falsely. It speaks like a bully and

acts like a coward." The Dissenters, on the other hand, were like Weller, who lost no time in talking, but just laid about him right and left.

Mr. Langdale wrote to the *Tablet* eulogising and defending Lord Surrey,[1] and the *Tablet* replied that few things had surprised and pained the editor more than the perusal of that letter. He said, "Until we read this eulogy; until we saw, from Mr. Langdale's own words, the kind of effort it requires in the higher circles to profess oneself a Catholic; until we had this plain proof of the habitual cowardice with which our leaders are in the habit of renouncing or throwing a veil over their Catholicity in 'good society;' until we saw even Mr. Langdale's perfect unconsciousness that his praise of the individual involves a charge of the most hopeless degradation against the class—we never suspected how universally the deadly poison of religious indifference had pervaded the veins of our Catholic aristocracy. . . . We shall not easily forget Mr. Langdale's bitter condemnation of the order to which he belongs. Nothing that we have ever said even approached it in severity."

Before these words were in print the *Tablet* was attacked in various ways. The following remarks speak for themselves, and will require no explanation.

[1] Referring to the speech of Lord Surrey, Mr. Langdale thanked God for having called forth such generosity on the part of a young nobleman who, blessed with all that wealth can bestow, had forgotten all to make an appeal for the poor.

"We know that a great deal of our language has given offence to what is called 'good society.' We heartily rejoice at it. 'Good society' owes us no gratitude, and we owe it no allegiance. On the contrary, we regard it as a corrupt heap of religious indifference, of half faith, of cowardice, of selfishness, of unmanly impotence. If the *Tablet* were to sink to-morrow, our only regret would be that we have not found words adequate to express the indignation with which the conduct of 'good society' in these matters inflames and overwhelms us. It is said we ought to have some mercy upon a young man who has been brought up under Protestant tuition. Quite so. We don't wish to be severe upon Lord Surrey personally; but severity is necessary towards those who place such a man, so situated, in the position of being able to tell the House of Commons, 'I, *as a Catholic*, approve this. I, *as a Catholic*, judge such and such things to be fair towards Catholics.' We know it is bad manners and the height of ungentlemanliness, and the reverse of everything that is approved in 'good society,' to inquire too curiously into the life and conversation of a rich Duke's son and heir. But when he pledges us in the House of Commons, and when the Institute (supported by our money) throws the eternal salvation of our children into his hands, we have a right to inquire who is he that is to rule with absolute sway the eternity of our poor? We believe Lord Surrey to be utterly

disqualified, by habits and education, to pronounce a rational opinion on what is and what is not consistent with the tenets and discipline of our Church. Hundreds more believe it, but are too cowardly to say it, and they will abuse us for daring to say it. Let them. We glory in their abuse." And then he gives his reasons for his opinion of the Earl. One of these was that one of the Earl's late tutors had told a Protestant M.P. that "he thought both the Duke and the Earl were about to turn Protestants immediately. This tutor believed the Earl to be more Protestant than Catholic."

The boldness of the *Tablet* roused the enthusiasm of the Catholic clergy and middle class throughout the country. The branches of the Institute, almost without exception, declared against the Bill. Petitions were forwarded from almost every Catholic congregation, and, with few exceptions, were *not* intrusted to the Institute or to the noble Lord. The Dissenting opposition was too powerful for the Government, and the educational clauses of the Bill were abandoned.

This controversy did not alienate Mr. Langdale. He could not but perceive, on mature reflection, that Lucas was in the right. In the course of the dispute Mr. Langdale had written to the *Tablet* saying, "He had the highest spiritual authority to be procured in England that the use of the Protestant Bible as a reading-lesson need not be condemned." Here again Lucas had to defend the

Catholic practice against Catholics. He declared that "he must beg to express his perfect conviction that this was not the case; that Mr. Langdale and Lord Surrey had misapprehended; and that he should not be convinced till the Vicars-Apostolic decided the question in their own names, and forbad the further discussion of the question."

He had not long to wait. In a second edition of the same issue of the *Tablet* he produced irrefragable evidence on the point. Bishop Poynter, in his examination before the Committee of the House of Commons on education in 1816, had said, "Even supposing a selection to be made of Scripture passages which are the same in both versions, I should think it contrary to my duty, and to the constant practice of the Catholic Church, to permit the use of it." And when asked, "Could you allow some portion of that (the Protestant) version to be selected for the use of Catholic children?" he replied, "No."

In the midst of this discussion a certain Mr. C. E. Jerningham published a pamphlet in which he advocated the relaxation of the stringent rule of the Catholic Church against mixed marriages. The editor of the *Tablet* devoted an article to the subject, because, he said, this was only another instance of the determination of a large class among us to de-Catholicise Catholicism, and he concluded with these words: "God pardon us if we ever give quarter to such abominable enterprises."

CHAPTER X.

REPEAL—LUCAS BECOMES A CONVERT TO REPEAL—THE MONSTER MEETINGS—TARA—MULLAGHMAST—CLONTARF.

In January 1843, Lucas went over to Ireland in connection with the enlargement of the paper. The *Tablet* had always been open to communications from Ireland. Indeed, it was the only English journal that would admit letters on the popular side. And though, as has been shown, Lucas was strongly opposed to Repeal, his sympathy with the suffering people, and with the men who were striving for alleviation through Repeal, was always so manifested as to gain the hearty appreciation of his opponents. O'Connell's resolution at the Repeal Association during the *True Tablet* dispute augured well for a cordial reception in that hospitable country. He was, indeed, heartily welcomed and entertained throughout the South; the number of his subscribers was greatly enlarged, and before his return he was introduced to the Repeal Association in Dublin, and invited by the Liberator to speak. While still holding to his anti-Repeal opinions, he said that till his present journey "he never had the slightest conception that any class of beings could be ground

down to so miserable a state—as regarded their outward condition—as that of the peasantry he had seen in the various counties through which he had passed; and that when he got back to England, whatever his opinions as to the aptness of Repeal, he would always declare that it was not *an extreme or violent measure*, when taken in connection with the evils under which the country unfortunately laboured."

Lucas had a way of going to the root of a matter, and in regard to the Irish tenants, it was a practice with him when in the country to visit the poor cultivators in their own homes, to look through the agreements by which they held their land, and thus to make himself acquainted with their miseries and the causes thereof.

When he returned to England, he expressed himself in language as strong as, if not stronger than, any employed in these latter days. Before his time, the condition of Ireland had not been made generally known here; trustworthy information was, in genuine English fashion, systematically withheld; facilities of communication between the two countries were not developed; there was no cheap popular press in Ireland from which editors of honest English journals could learn the truth; so that Lucas's ignorance of the state of affairs there, and his mistake on the Repeal question, were very natural.

The years 1843 and 1844 will be memorable in the history of Ireland for the sudden growth,

culmination, and collapse of the Repeal movement under O'Connell. The chronic distress throughout the country increased rather than diminished, and while large tracts of land, perfectly capable of cultivation, were left untilled, the growing population overflowed into England and Scotland in numbers that swelled our manufacturing towns at an unprecedented rate.

Till the beginning of March, the agitation for Repeal had appeared, more or less, as the voluntary and unsupported agitation of a few persons thrust forward by Mr. O'Connell. But now it assumed a more official aspect. After a three days' debate, the Corporation of Dublin agreed, on the motion of O'Connell, by a majority of nearly three to one (41 to 15), to petition Parliament for a repeal of the legislative union. During this debate Mr. Alderman Purcell endeavoured to show that the desire for Repeal had no hold on the country; and he tried to prove his contention by a piece of arithmetic which afforded a good illustration of the fallaciousness of unsifted statistics. The Repeal funds from the whole United Kingdom and America only reached £5000 a year. This, at one shilling a head, would give 100,000 subscribers. How was Repeal to be carried by so small a number of Repealers? Lucas took a different view, calling on those who chose to sneer at Repeal to show another instance of agitation for a popular object so surrounded with difficulties as this where the subscriptions

were so large and so continuous. "Disliking Repeal as we do," he said, "the position of affairs fills us with no ordinary anxiety. . . . You must find a cure for the Repeal agitation, and this can only be twofold. Either you must grant Repeal, or set heartily to redress the deep-rooted and accumulated evils to remove which Repeal is demanded. . . . Evasion is impossible: we must meet the agitation like men, or be swallowed up by it like fools." The writer was certainly not carried away by enthusiasm or love for the movement; he expressed the cool judgment of a man who had studied the history of the past, and who looked present facts fairly in the face. Surveying the history of this country and of the world, and examining all the revolutions that had happened in the last three centuries, he declared that all the grievances which had brought them about would not make up a tithe, or probably one-fiftieth, of those in which the Repeal agitation was embedded. "The revolutions of 1640 and 1688, with the French revolutions of 1789 and 1830, the Spanish, the Belgian, the American, all added together and thrown into one common heap," presented no such accumulation of wrongs requiring redress as did the condition of Ireland.

"Would that Englishmen saw Ireland with their own eyes! that they witnessed the depth, the frightful extremity of degradation in which the people of Ireland are held down by their remorseless taskmasters. To read of it is nothing, but to

see it before us must shock and torture any one who has a heart of flesh within his breast. . . . We have read a good deal about Ireland, and have taken some pains to inform ourselves of the condition of her inhabitants by books. But until we saw the face of the country itself, we never knew what a doomed, what an accursed, what a hideous, hellish thing is that which calls itself the Government of Ireland! . . . We speak of the governing classes, and of their behaviour in those indefinite relations between man and man which form the vital principle which taxes and Governments are appointed to uphold and cherish; and we say that in Ireland this principle, which should be one of life, is a principle of death, of corruption, of war, of famine, of injustice, of every evil thing that God scourges in His anger, and that man must hate and loathe with all the powers of his soul."

Lucas's aim was to rouse the English people to treat Ireland with justice and common humanity, and by so doing to remove the causes for Repeal.

"What have we ever done," he asks, "to conciliate the Irish people?

"Take the poor-law question. Charity to the poor is part of the Irish religion. It forms a part of the Irish character, a link—one of the few wholesome links—of Irish society. It binds man through love, and it relieves the extremity of Irish misery with kindness and respect. . . . Well, we wished to relieve Irish distress. How

did we set about it? By treating Irish feelings with respect? Not at all, but by conduct directly the reverse. By denouncing Irish religion and Irish morality as superstitions; by carrying deadly hostilities to the hearth and the fireside of every hut in the island. . . . We speak not here of the pecuniary follies of the poor-law; we only speak of the insult, the outrage, the deep-rooted hostility, aversion, and contempt displayed by its authors for the character, intellect, and morals of the Irish nation.

"Do we need other instances? They are to be found in every page of Irish legislation; they form —diversified, indeed, with bloodier matter—the staple of the history of the English connection. The tithe-rent charge, the National Board of Education, the Anglican Church, the Protestant Lords Spiritual in Parliament, the annual grant to Maynooth, the insolent prohibition of religious orders in the country, the curtailment of her parliamentary franchises, the denial of even the pretence of an equal representation, the restriction of municipalities, vexatious qualifications for burgesses; these things and many more show that England (with exceptions) hates and despises Ireland, and cares not one straw for her honour or her feelings."

He observed that the population of Ireland was increasing more rapidly than that of England, and he thought this an important element in the political situation. Somewhat later, when all his efforts in the direction of redress proved unavail-

ing, he said with prophetic instinct, "Repeal will come. One cannot see by what steps, but come it will." His words may yet come true, and that speedily.

By the middle of April 1843, the Repeal rent, which in the previous year had averaged £100 per week, suddenly rose to £450. Enormous meetings, at which from 50,000 to 100,000 persons were present, were held at Limerick, Kells, and various places in Tipperary. On the 9th of May the Duke of Wellington, in reply to Lord Roden, declared in the House of Lords that should any attempt be made to disturb the public peace, the Government were determined to maintain inviolate the integrity of the Empire. Lord Brougham said that "Repeal would involve the Empire in a ruin grievous to the whole human race." And in the House of Commons Sir Robert Peel stated, "on the part of Her Majesty," that there was "no influence, no power, no authority, which the prerogatives of the Crown and the existing law gave to the Government which should not be exercised for the purpose of maintaining the Union." Those utterances implied a fear that the Repealers would endeavour to carry their point by insurrection, and an Arms Bill was brought in and pressed accordingly. This, however, was a mere pretext; for they knew well enough that O'Connell had no intention of appealing to arms, and had always said, and continued to say so. The movement continued with increased rapidity, and a few

days later it was announced that the entire Irish hierarchy was in favour of Repeal. Meantime the Whigs did nothing except taunt the Tories with being the cause of the existing state of things. Had *they* been in office forsooth, Ireland would have been quiet, and so on. The editor of the *Tablet* expressed in plain terms his appreciation of the Irish policy of both parties.

"When the Whigs were strong," he wrote, "they passed Coercion Bills. When they grew weak and needed Irish support, they grew desperately enamoured of O'Connell, struck up an alliance with him, and administered Irish affairs with tolerable fairness, as the price of his parliamentary support. . . . Your Whig is sure to be meanly wrong, if wrong, and to be meanly right, if such a thing be possible."

In 1834, in an address to the Crown, they had "assured His Majesty that they would apply their best attention to the removal of all just causes of complaint." Yet the only remedial measures carried through Parliament were a "Municipal Corporation Bill, which had in it more of an insult than of a benefit, an incomplete attempt to curtail the franchise, and a Poor Relief Act for starving the poor still worse than under the old no-system." The Tithe Commutation Act was a simple swindle. It shifted no burden; all it did was to change the name of the obnoxious tax and the mode of collecting it. Now Lord Stanley openly, and "with his accus-

tomed insolent haughtiness, avowed his satisfaction at having to rule Ireland in opposition to the popular will," and he declared his opinion "that the wealth, property, and intelligence of the United Kingdom" was satisfied with the Irish Government. On this the *Tablet* comments thus:—

"It was the wealth, property, and besotted intelligence of the United Kingdom that enacted the Penal Code, and thus set at naught all the obligations of morality and all the precepts of religion. Nay, it is idle to deny that the repeal of the last remnants of that code was in direct and notorious opposition to the wealth, property, and intelligence of the Empire. There is not an act of villainy that has been perpetrated towards Ireland on a great scale for which the wealth, property, and intelligence of the Empire have not been pawned with the utmost cheerfulness. . . . There is not an act of savage barbarity for which the same sanction cannot be claimed; and now conciliation is eschewed, not because it is impracticable, but because it is an undesirable result."

There was, then, to be no conciliation, no attempt to satisfy the people, no effort to bind Ireland to Great Britain by the ties of affection and attachment. This state of things could not last, said Lucas; it must have an end, either peaceable and profitable, or hideous in ruin.

The solution for the time proved to be the

death of one million of people by famine and fever. Already, on the 3rd June, seeing no hope of redress, and repudiating repression, Lucas said that he would no longer oppose, though he could not welcome Repeal.

During the summer the monster meetings increased in number and frequency. Later they became less frequent but more numerously attended. On the 15th August one was held at Tara, in the county of Meath, at which it was estimated that from half to three-quarters of a million persons were present. At this meeting O'Connell used an argument to the effect that the Act of Union was illegal in itself. Lucas did not even then perceive its force, but other considerations brought him to nearly the same conclusion. Referring to the Tara meeting, on the 28th of August he wrote:—

"We confess that two or three years ago, mistaking the despair of the Irish people for a fixed unwillingness to disturb the settlement of near half a century, we thought there had been a sufficient consent to convert the *force* into *law*. But a man must be blind to everything going on around him who does not see in the present agitation of Ireland a proof beyond the possibility of doubt that the obedience hitherto paid to the law has been only the obedience of fear; that prescription has no existence in the matter; that the Union has only been endured, not accepted; and that their resolution to abide by a native

Parliament is as strong and undying as ever. . . . Ireland has been robbed; she has a right to claim back her stolen property; she has a right to follow her stolen goods, and to reinstate herself in her lawful possession as best she may."

The meeting at Tara was followed by others at Maryborough, Lismore, and various places in Connaught. The Mullaghmast meeting, on 1st October, was the last actually held. The numbers present were enormous. So far, indeed, had the idea of Repeal taken hold of men's minds, that even the Tory *Morning Herald* thought that the measure was inevitable. At this Mullaghmast meeting, O'Connell said that the Union had been passed by men who had no legal right whatever to barter away the constitution of the country. They had been elected to make laws for Ireland, not to hand over that function to the British Government; to act under the constitution, not to annihilate it. The delegation of the people was confined within the limits of the constitution, and the moment Parliament went beyond those limits, and destroyed the constitution, at that moment it annihilated its own powers. The Act of Union was, therefore, altogether beyond the legitimate functions of the Irish Parliament, and for that reason was, in law, null and void.

Seeing the force of this argument, Lucas adopted it, and, in supporting it, said: "English common law, English practice, and one notable precedent in particular — that of Charles the

Second's restoration—damn it (the Union) beyond redemption. A Legislature overthrown within the memory of men now living by a combination of force, fraud, and terror, the overthrow never for an instant having been acquiesced in by the nation, is not legally defunct and abolished."

This consideration demolished at a stroke all the grounds on which, in his controversy with O'Connell in 1840–41, he had taken his stand in opposing Repeal. One of these—the advantage to the Catholic cause from the union of the Catholics of both countries—fell with the rest; for he had admitted that no advantage was to be sought in an essential injustice. But even that advantage had been deliberately given away in the Education dispute, when the English Catholic leaders declined to unite with the Irishmen.

As to the English Tories, their object was "to Anglicise Ireland, to make English will supreme over Ireland in purely Irish affairs, to root out Irish forms of society, and to give an English colouring to every institution and fraction of society in Ireland; whereas, according to those principles of justice which lie at the base of all society, it is the very essence of all local institutions, from the parish up to the kingdom, that, so far as in practice it is possible, every locality shall be administered in conformity with its own local character, subject, of course, to the greater and wider interests of the Empire. The war of La Vendée was a war not to Gallicise Brittany, for it was completely Gallic, but to Parisianise it, to

root out local institutions, and to substitute for them institutions suitable only to that portion of the French Empire which resided in the cellars and kennels of Paris. The contest now going on in Ireland is, under other names, and with other nominal interests at stake, in substance exactly the same as that of La Vendée."

As the French proletariat wished to crush the Catholic religion in Brittany, so, in Lucas's opinion, did the Tories wish to effect the same object in Ireland. Nor were the Whigs in any respect better. A certain Whig — Sir Charles E. Trevelyan, father to "Pinch-of-hunger" Trevelyan— having made a six weeks' tour in Ireland, contributed to the *Morning Chronicle* a series of letters signed "Philalethes." Having determined, before leaving England, that "the whole affair was a gigantic piece of blarney on O'Connell's part," his object was to confirm his opinion by examination on the spot, and he succeeded, as was to be expected. He found that his view was "perfectly correct;" yet, that the people "were determined to have Repeal—by fair means if possible, but at any rate Repeal; . . . that they had made up their minds in an extraordinary degree to the sacrifices consequent on a popular rising;" and more to the same effect. But he "was surprised to hear nothing of drilling or of the manufacture of arms." He wanted to make out a case for his party, and he imagined that he had done so.

On this the *Tablet* remarked, that "a lasting

emptiness of stomach enables a people to familiarise themselves . . . with the contingencies of insurrection in a truly extraordinary degree. 'Philalethes' may set it down as undeniable that, with persons so circumstanced, death, under a pleasing variety of aspect, has in reality no terrors at all."

The Whig plan was to make it appear that the warlike ideas emanated from some organised source of a popular character; whereas, it was the British Government that threatened war against a perfectly peaceable population, who had no thought of taking up arms. Notions like these of "Philalethes" come, said Lucas, "of making up your mind first, and then setting out upon your travels." He concluded an article on the subject with these words:—

"Without provocation there will be no civil war; and if civil war is provoked and forced upon Ireland, we hope to live to see the day when the 'Minister of massacres,' whoever he may be, from whose cowardly ferocity such a war alone can proceed, shall expiate his crimes on the scaffold."

The last Repeal meeting for which any preparation was made was fixed for Sunday the 8th of October, a week after that at Mullaghmast. The site elected was Clontarf, close to Dublin. People were coming from considerable distances, and had made arrangements to be in time. Hitherto every meeting had passed over in perfect order; no disturbance had occurred at any one of them. A large proportion of the people

were teetotalers, and there was no occasion to fear any, the least violence. Nevertheless, on Saturday afternoon, at a quarter past three o'clock, a proclamation was issued prohibiting the meeting, on the false pretence that peace was in danger. For all that Government did to warn those coming from a distance, hundreds of thousands would have been there. O'Connell, however, stepped between the Government and the people, and no meeting was held. The common impression was that the short interval had been arranged with a view to a general massacre. The example of the affair at Peterloo and the deliberate incitement to rebellion in 1798 by Pitt and Castlereagh encouraged the belief.

"Lord De Grey, Lord Lieutenant, has," said the *Tablet*, "at last struck a blow, and the air is rife with rumours of fresh efforts to put down that which Government have so long and so carefully fostered."

For, in point of fact, the Tories hoped that O'Connell would commit himself by some overt act of violence. He had prepared a scheme of Arbitration Courts on a legal basis, to supersede the Courts of Law, which were notoriously corrupt and sinks of injustice; and he had in view the meeting of a council of three hundred in Dublin, so that a Parliament might be ready when the Act of 1800 should be repealed. The Government had allowed all this to proceed in the vain hope that the law would be broken. Finding themselves disappointed, nothing re-

mained but to break the law themselves. This they did—Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and the Duke of Wellington.

The *Times* said "that there would be now no necessity for any extraordinary measures, or even for an extension of the ordinary powers of the Government." That was true, for the Government could rely on its power to pack juries and to change the venue. The next step was to commence prosecutions against O'Connell and some of the most prominent Repealers for conspiracy. On the other hand, the contributions to the Repeal fund, which had already reached £1200 in one week, suddenly rose to over £2000. The *Tablet* announced that Repeal was making steady and unfaltering progress.

In this matter Lucas made a very considerable mistake. He seems to have judged that the prosecution would be conducted with some regard to law and morality. To get a verdict, he thought that the Crown would have "to supply such proof as would convince (it might be) an unwilling jury —such proof as would convince a crowded court, the bulk of educated and impartial men, not only in Ireland, but all through the Empire."

"This proof," he said, "they cannot supply, for it does not exist. The Union is *not* legal; it has no footing in law; it is utterly unsupportable by argument. On this point O'Connell is certain of a cheap and easy victory."

There were some points on which Lucas did not know his countrymen.

CHAPTER XI.

REPEAL, 1843-45—POLITICAL MORALITY AND SYDNEY SMITH—THE DEVON COMMISSION—TRIAL BY JURY IN IRELAND.

THE trial, as all the world knows, was conducted with that disregard of law, justice, or even common sense, for which Irish prosecutions were notorious. The indictment, equal to 685 ordinary octavo pages of printed matter, was withheld from the traversers' counsel till it was too late for them to master its contents; the proceedings before the grand jury were illegal; a page of the jury-list, consisting almost entirely of Catholics, was abstracted; scarcely a Catholic name was left on the pannel; and some of the witnesses to the informations were proved to have sworn inaccurately. But the judges confirmed every act of illegality that had been committed.

While these affairs were proceeding, Lucas expressed in strong language his new view of Repeal, and, of course, he was charged with saying what had not entered his mind. It was asserted that he had devoted to eternal destruction all anti-Repealers. He replied that he had done nothing of the sort; that he had pressed his views vehemently, because in 1841, under a mis-

apprehension of the law and of the facts, he had advocated the opposite conclusion, and had ridiculed the notion of treating Repeal as a matter of abstract justice; that he felt bound to redeem his error; and that, having unwittingly helped to propagate a delusion, he felt compelled to undo whatever mischief he might have previously brought about. His principle was, that men who acknowledged the wickedness of doing wrong on a small scale are not at liberty to co-operate in doing wrong on a great scale, and evade all moral responsibility by nicknaming the plunder *politics;* "as if, when Moses received the tables of the law, Aaron had had orders to make a marginal note that, in the matter of stealing, politics are an exception." This was all he had said, and to this he adhered. Any one who was deliberately of opinion that the Act of Union was a legal act might be, he averred, quite right to be an anti-Repealer; but if he thought otherwise, he had no right to connive at the robbery by defending the Union.

This was with him by no means a new way of regarding political morality. It was an elementary proposition which it did not require a man to be a Catholic to comprehend. It had been a household word with him almost from his cradle. He looked upon "England as the murderess of the Afghans, the murderess of the Belochees, the breaker of treaties, the poisoner of China, the public robber throughout the East;" and he had asked, in satire, "Are we not strong? Have we

not always been successful? Can we not act precisely as best pleases us? Is not Fortune our vassal? God our instrument? Justice our creature? Empire our inheritance? Have not these things been so from the beginning, and will they not continue so to the end? If we do not actually watch over God and keep Him from falling into blunders and mistakes, He performs that kind office for us, makes *us* the first-born of created beings, the occasion and final cause of the very redemption itself."

In an article on "Breeches-Pocket Morality and Rabbi (*i.e.* Sydney) Smith," he enforced the same argument in a humorous way. The reverend gentleman had lent money to the State of Pennsylvania for certain public improvements. The interest was to be 6 per cent., the stock being issued at 80, thus making the profit equal to 7½ per cent., or more than double the interest from the funds. The Americans paid regularly enough for some years, and then repudiated the debt. This annoyed the reverend investor; and he wrote, as many persons will remember, some very amusing, sarcastic, and epigrammatic letters on the subject to the *Morning Chronicle*, over his own signature. He called the borrowers—

"Drab-coated men of Pennsylvania" (in allusion to the Quaker settlement of that colony); told them that their "sin hung over them like a pestilence, and made good men sad, and ruffians dance and sing. That it is not for gin-sling alone and sherry-cobbler that man is to live, but for those great principles against which no argument can be listened to,

—principles which give to every power a double power above their functions and their offices, which are the books, the arts, the academies that teach, lift up, and nourish the world—principles above cash, superior to cotton, higher than currency—principles without which it is better to die than to live, which every servant of God, over every sea and in all lands, should cherish."

"This sounds," says the *Tablet*, "like an apostle preaching to the 'most excellent governor Felix' of justice and temperance and the judgment to come. But after all, there is a spice of the Pharisee in it. What a pity it was that, when he had his money safe, he forgot that 'the love of money is the root of all evil,' that it behoves men to 'flee covetousness,' and so on. Whereas the extra 4 per cent., *without working for it*, had been truly comforting to the man of God, while the security of a republic that enjoyed household suffrage was equally consoling to a Whig pamphleteer."[1] The Reverend Canon waxed very biting in his reproaches, and he delared he could not think how any Pennsylvanian could sit down to dinner at an English table. For his part, if he—

"Had the misfortune to be born among such a people, the land of his fathers should not retain him a single moment after the act of repudiation. He would appeal from his fathers to his forefathers. He would fly to Newgate for greater purity of thought, and seek in the prisons of England for better rules of life."

[1] He had lent the money during the Reform Bill agitation, relying on the immaculate virtue of democracies, to which the Whigs were committed.

"This," says the *Tablet*, "is very smart writing—almost as smart as an American *deal;* but it is cant nevertheless. It is not true. It is mock heroism, every word of it. He has been robbed, and he hates *those* thieves—cheated, and he hates *those* swindlers." But after all, his own "friends, partisans, and country have steeped their hands in the crime of massacre, have repudiated treaties, drenched nations with poison, plundered provinces, usurped thrones, stolen kingdoms, swindled monarchs, shed innocent blood knowingly and in torrents, slain thousands in the just defence of their native land. All this they have done, and, when they have done it, they have put it on record in blue books, defended it in the very service which this parson once enlivened with his jokes, and are prepared to vindicate it again in Parliament. . . .

"Do you know Lord Auckland, goodman money-lender? We think he must be a friend of yours; indeed, he can hardly escape that honour, as a chief and leader among the Whigs, and a brother-in-law of another noted *Edinburgh Reviewer.*[1] Do you know what this Whig Governor-General has done in Scinde? We learn it under his own hand and in his own words in his direction to the Scinde Resident. 'While the present exigency lasts, you may apprise the Ameers that the *article of the treaty* with them prohibitory of using the Indus for the

[1] Macaulay.

'conveyance of military stores MUST NECESSARILY BE SUSPENDED.'

"The repudiation of a debt and the compulsory suspension of a treaty—what difference is there between them? Looking at them simply, they are both rascally breaches of agreement for the sake of convenience. This they are in the abstract. They are both *repudiations*. The Americans have borrowed and cheated, and there is an end. We broke our treaty, made for our own commercial benefit, as part of a scheme for robbing the Ameers of £200,000. We broke it to reduce to our obedience the territory of the Ameers. And he who broke it, and whose acts we have since adopted, to our everlasting disgrace, broke it with words of hypocritical regret on his lips. We beg then this mock heroic moralist to tell us whether, 'having had the misfortune to be born among such a people,' he will indeed 'fly to Newgate for greater purity of thought'? In the prisons of England he can find no viler morality than that which his bosom friends have practised."

Such being Lucas's view of political morality as applied to foreign countries, he could hardly be less strict in regard to our dealings with Ireland.

An immediate effect of the prosecutions was to make it clear to the Government that something must be done of a remedial kind. There was therefore great talk of a Commission to inquire

into the rights of property. Commenting on this proposal the *Times* said:—

"In this case of Irish Landlord *v.* Tenant, one essential element of all just traffic in land is wanting. Equal free agency, the first principle of all equitable commerce, does not exist between the parties. One of them is under the pressure of famine, which leaves no man master of his own actions, and might fairly be allowed to render questionable the validity of a bargain where one of them signs under the compulsion of a shivering family and an empty stomach."

The Commission was appointed.

Its report fully bears out the above dictum of the *Times;* but its plain lessons were never carried into effect till after the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell, and even then only imperfectly.

What was called "the trial" of O'Connell and the rest commenced on the 15th January 1844. The *Tablet* of the 13th contained an article on the subject, at once historical and argumentative, of which the substantial portions are as follows. The extracts require no explanation.

"Affairs in Ireland go on gaily. The preparations are now nearly complete, and the condemnation of the traversers commences on Monday next. We say the *condemnation*, because we prefer to call things by their proper names. The usual term is 'trial,' but trial implies some degree of doubt, some small modicum of examination and inquiry; whereas the examination and inquiry are now over, and what begins on Monday is the process of condemnation. This process is an absurd and long-winded form they have on the other side of the Channel for doing in several hours, several days, or perhaps several months, what in England is done in a few minutes, when the jury gives its verdict and the judge passes sentence

on a criminal. Whether better or worse, we can hardly say; but at all events, they manage things differently in Ireland from the mode we are accustomed to in England. With them, the trial is more compendious and the condemnation more prolix: with us, the trial wears out the patience; the condemnation occupies a very brief space of time. With us the jury (in an ordinary case) knows nothing about the matter to be tried: the parties, as a matter of consequence, know nothing about the opinions of the jury; and the twelve men enter the box with a *bona fide* intention of attending seriously to the evidence and returning a verdict in accordance with it. In Ireland, they go through the same outward process, but with a slight difference in detail. The parties to whom the construction of the jury is intrusted first make up their minds as to the verdict to be given; they then examine the jury lists, and determine that such and such jurors will return the verdict required; they then choose—we believe it is commonly called *packing*—the jury accordingly. When this operation is completed, the 'trial,' strictly speaking, is at an end. The prosecutors have *tried* to get a jury of the right sort, and they have succeeded. They have the verdict in their pockets, and then commences the tedious process of condemnation or passing sentence, a lengthy form, which consists in making long speeches, hearing witnesses examined and cross-examined, listening to fights between counsel, and the charge of the presiding judge, with other ceremonies of the same kind and nature. What the meaning may be of so roundabout a method of procedure 'the books' have not clearly informed us. . . . But we thought it necessary to explain, because we are almost sure it is not understood and appreciated on this side of the Channel.

"[In the present case] the one final intention was to select a special jury from the pannel of last year; but as this happened to be not only grossly unjust, but positively illegal, traversers' counsel pressed the point, and a new list was constructed accordingly. From this the jury was struck, and approved by the Recorder. For a long time the traversers vainly endeavoured to secure a copy of the pannel. When they did so, it was found that, out of a list of over seven hundred names, nearly sixty, almost *all Catholics*, men who had been

allowed, as duly qualified, to serve on a jury, had been omitted. On this one of the attorneys, Mr. Forde, denounced the whole proceeding as a 'flagitious fraud,' a 'gross and infamous suppression of jurors,' and declined to attend further for his client. There still remained eleven Catholics on the pannel, every one of whom the Crown challenged. This being so, the 'trials' are, of course, at an end, and nothing remains but the evidence and the verdict. Many persons, we know, especially in Ireland, are disposed to grumble at this mode of selecting a jury. They say this method of tampering with pannels and packing juries is rather unfair, and is calculated to leave an impression of injustice. Oh, no! not at all! It is the ordinary, settled course of Irish law, and it would be a foul libel to suppose that the settled course of law is an iniquity.

"In 1842—our readers must remember the case—Francis Hughes was tried for murder. The prisoner, a Catholic, had been twice acquitted by difference of opinion among the jurors, and many most respectable people believed him innocent; but the Crown was determined to have him found guilty; the Crown officers challenged every Catholic name, and sent the prisoner to be tried, avowedly and intentionally, by the enemies of his religion. The scheme succeeded. The wretch was found guilty, amid the yells of a crowded court-house and shrieks of 'Murder!' and he was hanged protesting his innocence, and believed to be innocent by many most respectable men."

The "trial" lasted twenty-five days. In the course of it the Chief-Justice Pennefather spoke of the counsel for the defence as the "gentlemen on the other side," and his charge was a speech of counsel against the traversers. Speaking of his Lordship the *Tablet* says:—

"This respectable functionary has left on record, through the instrumentality of this charge, his firm conviction that, even with an Orange jury, the desired verdict would not have been found unless he—the sworn dispenser of justice, the actual

administrator of iniquity—had jumped down into the arena and soiled his ermine in a vulgar struggle with the counsel for the traversers. We thank his Lordship for affording the whole world this striking evidence of the iniquity of the verdict for which he sweated."

The traversers were of course found guilty, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. The Crown could not press for judgment till the following term. The court at Dublin gave judgment on the 30th of May, and without delay O'Connell and the others were consigned to Richmond Prison. The writ of error on appeal to the House of Lords had already been applied for; it was well known that the proceedings were iniquitous to the last degree; but, as Lucas remarked, Government had him in their clutches; his body was their legal property; they could lock him up or let him go, and they decided to lock him up for three months. In the end, the Law Lords, who alone voted on the case, reversed the judgment by three to two, and Lord Denman made use of the now familiar expression that, if conducted as this had been, "trial by jury, instead of being a security to the accused, would become a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

When the prisoners left Richmond, Repeal seemed certain. How the movement failed, and what Lucas had to say on it, we shall see in a future chapter. We will now return to England at the end of 1843 and the early part of 1844.

CHAPTER XII.

FREEMASONRY—HOW TO SET OUR HOUSE IN ORDER—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SOCIETY OF ST. VINCENT OF PAUL.

WHILE Lucas was in Ireland in January 1843, some articles on Freemasonry appeared in the *Tablet* under the signature "A." The writer was T. Chisholm Anstey. These letters led to no animadversion at the time, but towards the close of the year the *Times* took umbrage at a pastoral issued by Archbishop Caruana of Malta, in which the faithful were reminded that any one joining the secret society of Freemasons was *ipso facto* excommunicated, the censure being one reserved to the Pope. The *Morning Herald* joined with the *Times* in denouncing this pastoral. Excommunications, it was declared, were out of date in this age of superior enlightenment and extended information, altogether out of place in a British possession, and the pastoral itself an unwarrantable interference with the liberty of British subjects. In commenting upon these attacks, the *Tablet* pointed out that the action of the Archbishop was merely ministerial and declaratory of the law of the Church, and in no sense legislative, and that in letting his subjects clearly understand their

position and their danger, he was performing an act of kindness, and not of severity. The *Tablet* further remarked that the ecclesiastical law on this subject was universal, and therefore as applicable to England as to Malta, and that the only difference was that in Malta the law had been brought home to the Catholics, while here there had been latterly no authoritative announcement of the same kind. In conclusion, extracts were given from certain Papal decrees in support of these remarks, and so the question was left.

Lucas was at once attacked by a clerical correspondent, and told that the decrees quoted were not in force here; that he had made a misstatement, and that he was imprudent and presumptuous. His reply was that he had merely stated what, for sufficient reasons—including the fact that the January articles had not been found fault with—he believed to be the unanimous view of the authorities here; that he had no idea there was any difference of opinion on the subject; but that since it appeared from his correspondent's strictures that such differences did exist, he was glad the question had been raised in order that the faithful might be authoritatively informed what was the law of the Church. For himself, he had no opinion one way or the other, and was most ready to bow to authority when authority should speak. The controversy lasted some weeks. It did much service at the time, for many Catholics had joined the society in ignorance, and were now

enlightened as to their real position. But it caused some heart-burning in the breast of at least one Vicar-Apostolic, who considered that the Bishops had been unwarrantably called to account by a layman. But Lucas was at much pains to prove that there was no calling to account in the matter. He had merely, in reply to comments in Protestant journals, stated what he believed to be the recognised law of the Church, and that in doing so he only *repeated* what several prelates had put on record in the preceding January.

Episcopal prejudice against him was strengthened by a series of articles which appeared concurrently with those on Freemasonry, and which were entitled "How to Set our House in Order." Of these the following abstracts and extracts will furnish a fairly complete idea. They resulted in a very definite movement, which is still in force, and to which his present Holiness has lately given more than a mere sanction.

They had for foundation two features which distinguished the Catholics of that period. One was the absence of heroism, or rather the prevalence of softness and selfishness, and the other a personal individual disregard of the poor. The occasion for writing arose as follows.

On the 24th of June 1843 the *Tablet* contained an article entitled "British Catholics and Scotch Seceders," in which the writer very strongly advocated the revival of a scheme for raising a

general ecclesiastical fund, such as had been contemplated and abandoned at the outset of the career of the Institute. This was in connection with a plan of O'Connell's for "widening the base" of that Association. The example of the Scotch Seceders—the Free Kirk movement was then in full operation—was urged as a proof of what might be accomplished by organising the entire body of British Catholics, poor as well as rich, and by systematic collections throughout the country. To the objection that the education of priests and the building of churches and schools concern our spiritual superiors, Lucas replied, "Emphatically these things do indeed concern our spiritual superiors, as to the spiritual part of them. But as to finding the temporal means for the execution of the spiritual functions, this concerns the laity chiefly if not exclusively." Next week a letter from Bishop Baines appeared in the *Tablet*, thanking the editor for what he styled "the most useful article that has ever appeared in the *Tablet*." Unfortunately for Lucas, the Bishop died suddenly on the 6th of July, and he was thus deprived of a very powerful supporter, or rather of one in subordination to whom he would have been only too happy to work.

When, therefore, the series we are considering was projected, he was strong in the approval of the late Bishop, and knew that he was about to give utterance to the sentiments of one who had been a very distinguished prelate, and whose memory

was still fresh in the minds of his readers; so that he could speak with boldness and confidence. At the same time he entered on his task with a full sense of how great a risk he ran of giving offence to some very worthy men. But he thought that the intention being "not to wound, but to benefit, . . . not to condemn authority, but to increase obedience," the single aim being the glory of God and the good of the Church, he might fairly look for forgiveness "even if, by unskilful words, he should, contrary to intention, give offence to any one. And so," he says, "with St. Mary to help and to guide, let us on without further pause."

He begins by remarking that—

"In politics there are two antagonistic disorders mutually begotten—the want of reverence for authority, resulting in a great part from want of conscience in the employment of power. This has extended to the Church also, and it might seem as if even in ecclesiastical matters the executive is too often paralysed. . . . . Even the Highest is not untouched by it. Except on startling occasions, when a sign of life bursts upon the world, like the unexpected glory of those mornings which know no twilight, ecclesiastical power seems to the common eye dead or inert. . . . Everywhere strong, vigorous exertions of power by the executive are needed to bring us back to health and to chase debility, and everywhere these exertions are kept back by needless fears about the consequences."[1]

This was towards the close of Gregory the Sixteenth's pontificate. He had come to the throne in the year 1831. In 1832 he had condemned

[1] *Vide* vol. ii.

De Lammenais; in 1835–37 he had condemned mixed marriages in Rhenish Prussia, and had in connection therewith addressed allocutions to the unscrupulous Frederick-William III. on the persecutions of the Bishops of Cologne and Gniessen —a persecution in which Bunsen had taken an active and dishonourable part. In 1839 the Pope had issued a Bull against the slave trade, of which Cardinal Wiseman says, "It did more to put down the slave trade than negotiations and corvettes." On the other hand, in 1841 he had, out of complaisance to the Czar Nicholas, appointed a Bishop of doubtful principles in Russia, and had induced another Bishop, an orthodox and brave man, who had suffered persecution at the hands of that brutal tyrant, to resign his see. It would seem from Cardinal Wiseman's "Recollections" that his taste lay in fostering art, in discovering antiquities, in adding to museums; and no doubt his domestic legislation, in reducing customs duties and establishing Chambers of Commerce, was very beneficial to his subjects. But a great want of vigour characterised his reign. This will explain the above expressions of the *Tablet* in reference to the policy of the Holy See at that time. The editor goes on: "Those whom the Church rules over spew out the strong meat of justice, and comfort their weak stomachs with the slobbery pap of expediency; and too often the Church, in its inferior departments, seems too exclusively to take a mere human expediency

for the rule and measure even of its justice." In support of these remarks he refers to the question of university education in France, and quotes a declaration of Montalembert's, that "the not having obtained liberty of Catholic instruction in that country is the fault of the French Episcopacy, which has not publicly, seriously, and unanimously denounced the university monopoly. . . . It is not for us in England to speak of *faults* or . . . to blame those whom we are not competent to judge. But in a body like ours, of which the entire organisation proceeds from above," from the rulers, not from the people, "the complexion of our proceedings must depend very much upon the doings of those above us.

"If times are easy, mild virtues in our rulers will suffice. But if the times are evil, if the present state of affairs is unwholesome, if the condition of society among us is diseased, if a loose, cowardly effeminacy, a neglect of duties, a hardness of heart, a weakness of faith, a deficiency of hope, a coldness of charity—if these be the characteristics of the lay part of our communion, . . . we know but one principal remedy for all this that can safely be trusted to: it is that our inert epicureanism be burnt up, and a bright flame of heroism kindled in us by the heroic character of our rulers. . . . We need courage more than human, an activity that never tires, an energy that nothing can resist, a virtue that in every action of their lives 'scorns the pusillanimous counsels of mere human

prudence.'[1] Let no one suppose that we undervalue the mild virtues, undeniable learning, and undoubted zeal of our present prelates. . . . That is not our meaning; God forbid we should so far forget ourselves. What we have pointed out as wanting is something which it is not exactly a fault, or a sin, or a crime to be without; . . . but yet it is something without which our affairs *must* prosper ill.

"We know it may be answered for the Bishops that the blame rests with us of the laity rather than with the Bishops, and we know that when the harshest censurer has blamed his worst, there will still be matter for blame that has escaped his notice. . . . But then, why are not our faults thrown openly in our teeth? . . . Why are we not told *by authority*, and as part of the counsel of God, that such and such things rest upon us; that our rulers can bear the burden of them no longer; that such a plan, to which no reasonable objection can be made, is propounded for us to act upon; and that if we will not act upon it, if we will serve Mammon rather than God, if we will neglect the poor and spurn from us those whom Christ best loves, upon our souls must lie the guilt and eternal damnation of those whom want of opportunity has blasted?"

Next week the *Tablet* reminded its readers that although we inherit the great names of Catholic antiquity, yet that we have only the

[1] Recent discourse of Cardinal Pacca.

shadow, not the substance, of the days of the Apostles; that we are so desperately afraid of giving scandal to Protestants, that their errors and abominations have been kept out of sight till even Catholics have forgotten them. "So that when a Digby exhumes for our benefit the practical maxims of bygone days, we look at them as things foreign to us; we stare at them as at a mummy that has been dug up; and so it comes about that Protestant justice has become our justice, Protestant charity our charity, Protestant morality the rule and measure of our lives. . . . While these things so continue, how can we hope that our house will ever be set in order? . . . How can we hope to reform the morals of our neighbours until we can get for ourselves some sterner and wholesomer morality than that which we have hashed up of just so much Catholic morality as we are afraid to discard, and just so much Protestant morality as we find it convenient to accept?"

The editor in another article gives, as an instance of our shortcomings, the attitude of Catholics towards Freemasonry. He takes for his text the letter from his clerical correspondent before referred to, who had said that "the evil of creating new sins by inculcating false notions of obligations applied most forcibly to his article on Freemasons."

"To consider this question as an isolated case would be, in our opinion, a capital oversight. Who, for example, among us has

thought about the new duties of [the altered position of the Catholic body since the repeal of the penal laws]? Who, among us has framed to himself a definite idea that the new political franchises . . . are conversant with questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, robbery and restitution? . . . That every voter is filling an office, [and that therefore the holder's position] is after its kind as big with eternal consequences as if he were a peer or a commoner, or even the monarch? [Yet] there are injustice, robbery, murder, all uncharitableness, on every side of us; and unless we actively resist them, these things are being done in our name and for our own pretended benefit. . . . For all these things we are guilty to the extent of our connivance in the eye of God. Whether the wrong be in Ireland or India, Canada or China, in prisons or in poorhouses, yet we speak not, we must be like the times, shun all appearance of singularity, wear the devil's uniform for company' sake, eschew 'boldness,' abstain from 'rashness,' avoid startling sin by too glaring a contrast with virtue. Indeed it would be a shocking thing if we did anything to incur censure, if by any act of ours we gave opportunity to those whose custom it is to blaspheme to speak evil of goodness in our persons. It would be frightful if we exposed ourselves to ridicule, horrible if we were so rash as to get blamed. And yet it is true, as it has ever been, that the Church of God—and before the world we appear to be the representatives of that Church—cannot abdicate her jurisdiction over these great questions. . . . She must expound the moral law. She must utter a standing protest against breaches of that law. She must correct those who go wrong. She must forewarn the faithful, . . . and to her decisions we are bound to submit on all questions of principle in politics, as in every other department of ethics. . . . The separation of morals from politics is an impiety. It is more, it is an impossibility. It is a matter of faith that the authoritative exposition of questions of morals is within the domain of the Church, and that no branch of morals can be excluded from her jurisdiction. Judge then whether the Church can abdicate her jurisdiction over the lesser problems of the thorny field of politics.

"The duty, then, of the voter is to use his vote according to

his own judgment, for the attainment of rational and religious ends. The function of the Church is to enlighten him on the principles by which his judgment should be ruled; to warn him strictly and faithfully of the essential identity in principle of public and private crime, and, when needful, to protest publicly against the wicked enormities of public misdoers, where these are clear and apparent. How far the present is a time for the public execution of this function it is not for us to say. And it is *our* duty to bear in mind, just as zealously as if we were every day warned of it by rescripts and pastorals, that to make compromises of principle in cases of public morality, or to shrink from the avowal of our principles, is to weaken our sense of right and wrong in all matters; is a sure way to beget a lax morality on other questions, is to lower the tone of our minds, and render them effeminate and emasculate: is to desert the high vantage-ground on which the Almighty has placed us in this country; is to desert the interests of our religion, and, in a very capital point, to betray the citadel of Christ into the hands and keeping of unbelievers."

In reference to the prospect of England's conversion to the Catholic Church Lucas wrote :—

"Among the Catholic body it has been too much the custom to take it for granted that *our* element must gain the victory; that God fights for us and against our enemies; that we are under His special protection, and that therefore we may sleep in peace while He watches over us. . . . But who has told us that these things *must* be so? What certain warrant have we that this is either in the natural or providential order of things? What right have we to take for granted that three centuries is to be the term of heretical power, and that amidst increased crimes, and with a depraved sensuality greater perhaps than ever, the punishments of this kingdom are drawing to a close?"

It is, he continues, a common notion that this is a "favoured island" and that Englishmen are the chosen people of God; and yet we Catholics are no more free from national pride

and repulsive haughtiness than the rest of the people. "An Englishman is in our eyes, as well as in theirs, the greatest and most favoured of God's creatures, a little defective, it may be, on the score of religion and eternal life, but in the main an admirable production of the Deity. Is it not England whose commerce covers the world, upon whose empire the sun never sets, whose ships domineer over all seas, whose armies overthrew the greatest conqueror of modern times, and are invincible (except when they happen to be beaten), whose strong arm upheld the Pope when he was struck down, and who can make right wrong, and wrong right whenever it pleases ourselves? And can such a power as this, boasting the best constitution in the world (though a little out of order just at present), can she miss obtaining the greatest treasure of all? Forbid it, Heaven! It is grossly improbable. We may therefore set it down as a settled thing that England is *to be* reconverted, and that having had for so many ages the rewards of Mammon, she is to have the kingdom of heaven added to them as the complement and finish of them all."

He wishes that this anticipation may be true. But he has his fears; and looking over past history, he remarks that many flourishing empires and republics have had their foundation in the grossest Paganism; that they have lived on in unbroken triumph for centuries, and that after the culmination of their power it has taken centuries to complete their final ruin. He points to the renewed vigour with which schismatical Russia is labouring and toiling for fresh conquests over the souls and bodies of men; and he thinks it quite possible that in England the national heresy may be fitted to be the sham guide of a race of men with whom earthly, selfish, sensual interests are mainly predominant.

He speaks then of the enormous number of Catholics who are neglected, and who only require kindness and earnest attention to make them living members of the flock. They are Catholics who have, through the worst of times, preserved a sort of rude elementary piety, and have kept by them "the raw material" of religion with remarkable and admirable tenacity, and all they require is the realisation of such a scheme as O'Connell had proposed to the Catholic Institute, and as Bishop Baines had approved; and he asks—

"How are we calling down the blessing of God on this country to convert it when we allow the wholesale perversion of our own children?"[1]

In the last of this series of articles Lucas advocated the establishment in England of the Society of St. Vincent of Paul, of which he was always glad to chronicle the progress. He was invited to become its president, but declined to accept the post, on the ground that his editorship of the *Tablet* was incompatible with the qualifications requisite for the proposed office. The presidency was accepted by Mr. George Blount, who has ever since retained it, with the

[1] How far he truly appreciated the position as to the conversion of England is made apparent by the fact that, according to the last authorised calculation, the Catholics in Great Britain have increased since 1841 at a rate somewhat lower than that of the whole population. Yet more than three-quarters of a million Catholics have come from Ireland to live here, to say nothing of their natural increase and of the large number of conversions continually occurring. The exact figures, as nearly as they can be arrived at, will be found in the *Month* for July 1885.

admiration and respect of the members of the Society.[1]

By way of recognition of the services rendered and intended to be rendered to the Church in this country by the foregoing series of articles, several of the Vicars-Apostolic wished publicly and in a marked way to withdraw the support of all their order from the *Tablet;* but Dr. Briggs, afterwards Bishop of Beverley, stood by the editor, and the proposal was negatived.

[1] To-day the number of Conferences in London alone is thirty-two with 512 members, and in the rest of England 105 with 1936 members, besides Conferences in Ireland, Scotland, the United States, Canada, and many other of our Colonies and India.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CHARITABLE BEQUESTS ACT.

It was a firm conviction with Lucas that every English Administration, whether Whig or Tory, has had constantly in view two great objects in the government of Ireland: one, to diminish the power of the priesthood over their flocks, and the other to govern the country through Rome and the Irish Episcopacy. The end and aim of both processes was the same, and was also twofold, namely, to destroy the Catholic religion, and at the same time to enrich this country, or at least the English proprietors of Irish estates, at the expense of the native population. Whether, therefore, the Government for the time being brought in a Bequests Bill, or a Diplomatic Relations Bill, or a Bill to establish National Education or Queen's Colleges, or to increase the grant to Maynooth, or any other measure, however fair-sounding its title might be, the ends indicated were, in Lucas's opinion, kept steadily in view, and the proposed legislation must be judged in reference to its probable or possible effects in those directions. The same remark applies with equal force to all intrigues

relating to episcopal appointments, and especially to the See of Dublin. It is necessary to bear this constantly in mind in noting the policy advocated by Lucas in regard to Irish legislation. In Ireland the above view has long been familiar and fully appreciated; as also that one of the chief means employed has been to divide the Bishops. We shall see some startling confirmations of these remarks.

The session of 1844 was distinguished, among other things, by the passing of a certain Charitable Bequests Act, which led to a considerable agitation in Ireland. Whether, in drawing up the Bill, Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham were led by any motive adverse to Repeal, or whether their sole object was the enslaving of the Catholic Church, cannot be known. The Bill was passed under the pretence of remedying an acknowledged grievance, but its provisions were plainly calculated to bring the Catholic Church in Ireland under the control of the Government in pecuniary matters; and the passing of this Act, and afterwards the action of a minority of the Irish Bishops, gave occasion for some of the most forcible writing to be found in the *Tablet*. The case stood thus.

In the penal times a law had been passed for the purpose of plundering the Catholic Church in Ireland of all charitable bequests. So iniquitous was it, that Irish judges were found unwilling to be parties to its injustice. Even before Emanci-

pation it had fallen greatly into disuse. Under its provisions the administration of charitable funds had been vested in a Bequests Board, whose functions were practically confined to Protestant charities and none other. Under the new system Catholic bequests to Bishops or priests were, in the eye of the law, bequests to them personally; and as such would go to their heirs, and not to their successors in the ministry, however clear the intention of the donor. But beyond this there was no restraint of any kind on Catholic donations and bequests for charitable purposes. This great grievance would have been remedied by a short Act, such as O'Connell prepared, making every Bishop and parish priest a perpetual corporation for the purposes of the Act, and providing for a due registration of Bishops and priests—the register to be conclusive testimony in the Court of Chancery. How long the obnoxious law might have been left alone, had not cases arisen affecting Protestant bequests, it is impossible to say. The passing of the Act establishing the National system of education gave rise to some difficulties. For instance, a sum of £200 had been left by a certain Protestant rector of a parish in Kildare for the support of a parish school. When the National system was established, the Protestant school no longer retained its independence, and it became merged in the National school. The attendance comprised four Protestant and some seventy Catholic children. The Bequests Board withheld

the interest of the money from the teachers on the ground that the school was no longer a Protestant school. The Marquis of Normanby, presenting a petition from these poor teachers to the House of Lords, declared that nothing had happened in this parish which might not be predicated of five-sixths of the parishes in Ireland. That is to say, that as, under the National school system, parish schools all over the country were changing their status from denominational to National schools, any number of bequests might be voided on the present plea, if it were allowed to hold. The Marquis did not believe that the action of the Board was legal. But then the costs of a legal decision would eat up the whole fund very quickly, and on that ground Lord Cottenham had advised the parties not to apply to the court. A few days later another petition was presented, by which it seemed that the Board had squandered £92,000 left for the poor of Dublin.

Sir Robert Peel, in reply to a question by O'Connell, promised that Government would bring in a Bill this session respecting the management of Roman Catholic charities and property left for religious purposes in Ireland. O'Connell then gave notice that he would himself ask leave to bring in a Bill for the same purpose, and he did so, but his measure was laid aside during his imprisonment.

Lord Wharncliffe introduced the Government Bill into the House of Lords. He told their

Lordships that the amount of money left by Catholics in Ireland was several times greater than that left by Protestants, and that one Bishop had had a single sum of £55,000 left to him. Here was clearly a case for the Government to step in. Such an amount of plunder could not be allowed to escape; at best, the funds passing under the Act must be so manipulated as to bribe the Bishops or the clergy.

The Government measure as it stood was at once condemned by the whole of the Irish Episcopacy. On the other hand, of the English Catholics, Lord Beaumont was disgusted at the opposition; Lord Arundel and Surrey considered it a fair Bill, and Lord Camoys supported it. Before passing the Upper House it underwent some alterations not affecting its principle. This principle was to place Catholic donations or bequests in the hands of a new Board, which was to consist of two of the Irish judges and ten other proper and discreet persons, of whom no more than five should at any time be Catholics. All questions regarding Catholic bequests were to be in the hands of the Catholic members of the Board. This sounded very fair; but no donation, devise, or bequest to any religious order, or to any member or members of such order, community, or society, should be lawful under the Act. Here the old system of legalised robbery was retained. But, as the *Tablet* pointed out, it would be for the interest of the Crown (in whose hands the nominations would rest), in the

first instance, to name unexceptionable commissioners in order to lure testators and charitable donors, and when the funds should have become a real substantial source of influence, then "five Catholic Judases" would find their way to the Board, and some fine morning these worthies would be deciding, under the "dictation of some future *Peel*, that the revenues of Dublin or Tuam should be given to some Irish Guibert, instead of to an Irish Hildebrand." Nor was this a far-fetched expectation, as any one who reads the life of Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, who was on the Commission, may see. His hatred of the Catholic clergy was invincible. Dr. MacHale was his special aversion. With Dr. Murray (now an old man) he could get on well enough. When the Bill came on for discussion in the Commons, it was strongly objected to by a few members, and Sir Robert Peel became quite pathetic over the opposition; he said it "was quite disheartening, instead of doing justice to those who wished to do justice, to have reference made to former debates," and especially to two scandalous reappointments which had recently been made.

The *Tablet* finds a difficulty in replying satisfactorily to this complaint. "No doubt it *is* disappointing. No doubt the butcher gets disappointed and almost loses his spirits when he can't get his pig to lie quiet and accept the favour of having his throat cut."

Sir Robert asked, "Do honourable members

mean seriously to contend that, under the measure before the House, after a Roman Catholic had been entrapped into making an endowment, Government would avail itself of a set of five subservient Roman Catholic commissioners to sweep it away for Protestant purposes? Would Parliament tolerate at any time that the Crown should be guilty of such baseness?"

To the first question the *Tablet* replies, "Of course! That is the very thing which we do seriously contend for." And to the second—"The question rather is, would the Crown tolerate that Parliament should be guilty of such baseness? for the baseness of Parliament is of fathomless profundity."

The second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 71 to 5. There was nothing compulsory in its clauses, and while Morgan John O'Connell approved its spirit, Sheil spoke disrespectfully of the Archbishop of Cashel for protesting against it. After the invariable custom of the English Government in dealing with Irish affairs, the persons most intimately concerned in the matter were not consulted at all. The Bill was drawn, brought in, and carried without any reference to those whom it pretended to benefit. The real fact was, that it was one of a series of measures deliberately intended to undermine the Catholic religion. The time for penal laws had passed, and more astute and insidious methods had to be adopted. It cannot be denied that, in

carrying out these tactics, the English Government received much encouragement from Irishmen themselves. Sheil and Morgan O'Connell were by no means the only supporters of the Bill.

Some remarks of my brother's, who never ceased to write against the measure, will elucidate the position. On the 12th October the *Tablet* contained an article on the Bill in reply to a letter addressed by a certain Dublin priest to Dr. Crolly, Archbishop of Armagh.

In this article the editor remarks that "it is always delightful to a Ministerial huckster to have on hand a stock of gross, unprofitable injustice, which he can renounce with a smile of candour and a beam of benevolence. He regrets the past iniquity bitterly. He has no sympathy with those inartistical tyrants. They indeed were enemies, but he is a friend whom you can trust. But don't press him too far; he will do all he can. You have been like a wild horse thrown and tied by the legs. He will unloose your bonds and give free action to your limbs. But, just for form's sake, *only* for form's sake, he asks you to allow him to put a saddle on your back, and in your mouth the most harmless of bits; and then an adviser like the priest in question recommends you to let him carry out his benevolent project in his own way, lest you make him too your enemy. So with this Bill. The question now is, how shall the Bishops act in regard to it? It is no longer a question, as this gentleman puts it, between the old Act and the new. The

old is gone with its monstrosities, and can never be revived. They could not re-enact it. The new will become a dead letter if the Catholic Bishops and leading laymen refuse to act under it. Because the Government must start with a plausible Board, otherwise they will attract no bequests, for, as already remarked, there is nothing compulsory in the Bill. Sir Robert Peel dare not, while pretending to wish to conciliate Ireland, attempt to act in direct opposition to the hierarchy. The game is in their own hands.

"Let their Lordships, for God's sake, bear in mind their own strength. The Repeal agitation has brought Sir Robert to angle for conciliation. Let not years of agitation and thousands of pounds of the money of the poor be thrown away by exhibiting dissension among themselves. They have the market in their own control and can command their own terms."

It would not interest the reader to go through all the stages of the agitation which this question excited. All the Irish Bishops disliked the Bill. None could possibly approve the clause which made bequests to religious orders illegal, nor that which left it open for the Crown to decide, in case of a dispute (say between a Bishop and his priest pending an appeal to Rome) who the real incumbent or legatee should be; to say nothing of sundry other clauses.

On the surface, indeed, the Bill was preferable to the old law. But then the old law had been

habitually evaded, as all such Acts have been, and to this moment continue to be evaded in this country; whereas the new Act was a mere trap. A *prima facie* case against it was the approval by the above-mentioned priest.[1] He was a man who had some years previously written a pamphlet on education in France, attacking the French Bishops for opposing a scheme for placing the University under infidel control. This pamphlet he had been obliged by Rome to retract; but the British Government had appointed him to a lucrative post in Malta, expressly on the ground of his anti-Catholic notions. Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. C. Lewis wrote to say that the appointment had been made because a certain brochure of his "had involved him in difficulties with his ecclesiastical superiors, and because he had in consequence been suspended from some preferment which he held in the Irish Catholic Church. . . . It occurred to me that he might be tried for the rectorship (of the Malta University College) on account of the opinions he entertained on the subject of education, and his independence in avowing them."

Such being the spirit which actuated the Government, any confidence in this matter would have been manifestly misplaced. Letters came from the Irish College in Rome, from Dr. MacHale at Tuam, and from other influential quarters, against the Act. Protests were formulated and numerously

[1] See Book iv. Part ii., for Statement prepared by Lucas for the Pope, in vol. ii. of this work.

signed by the Irish clergy, and many lay meetings held to urge the Bishops not to accept seats on the new Board. The influence of the *Tablet* could not but be widely felt. The paper had a large circulation in Ireland, and the vigour, not to say vehemence, with which the Act was denounced in its pages was unremitting.

At length a Synod of Bishops was held in Dublin to consider this among other questions. Their Lordships were entreated and conjured by the *Tablet* to be firm, the strength of their position was again pointed out, the fatal effects of weakness again insisted on. Weak men, selfish men—the class whose expostulations, representations, and perhaps covertly-conveyed threats, have been more than once found to paralyse patriotic prelates—were denounced. Of these time-servers the *Tablet* said :—

"We know there are Irishmen—as indeed the two curses of Ireland have ever been to see her patriotism ruined by dupery and treachery—who affect to have the fullest confidence in the upright intentions of the present Government. In their eyes the packers of juries, the employers of spies, the seal-breakers, the violators of every confidence and every principle of honour, are a well-meaning set of innocents, who desire to confer a benefit on their chief enemy, and who, in the height of their death-struggle, wish to add health and strength to their antagonist. We know some of them affect to be Repealers. They declaim against Saxon tyranny, and would not let Englishmen pass a law affecting property to the extent of forty shillings. They would not allow an English Minister to nominate for office so much as a bailiff or process-server. Their houses, property, industry, commerce—all that relates to this world or to Mammon, everything that smacks of sin and has the taint of the Devil

upon it, they would keep to themselves, hug to their hearts, pay for it, wrangle for it, fight for it, take the pence of the poor for it, set the country in a blaze of discord for it from north to south. Not a rag would they leave in the clutches of the hated Saxon. Yet into these same clutches are they willing to thrust the affairs of God, the Church, and religion, and they would do so without a scruple or a sigh."

Lucas looked upon the whole business as an impending calamity. He said there were two courses open to Catholics, of which one would lead to peace and the other to internal discord, for inflaming which preparations had been already made. He quoted Burke as saying that the Irish Church almost realised the state of the Primitive Church, and that its lasting duration depended upon her steadfastly refusing every offer of State slavery. He continues :—

"We dare not gloss over the terrible position of affairs. No artifice, no fraud, no treachery will be spared to bring about the worst results. The weak will be intimidated, the strong flattered. Every vile tool will be hired or bribed into the service."

Not content with devoting two articles to the subject in the early edition of 9th November, he rose at night to prepare another for the later issue, fearing lest "next week would be too late ; next week some fatal conclusion might have been arrived at. The whole subject weighs upon us," he said, "painfully, like a sense of coming evil ; it disturbs our dreams ; and such vast moment do we attribute to the deliberations of the prelates on next Tuesday, that we could not answer it to

our conscience to leave unsaid any material argument that can at all illustrate the question." For it must be borne in mind that he ever regarded the interest of the Church in England and in Ireland as being no less inseparable than are those of the rearguard and the vanguard of an army.

A rescript from Rome was read at the second meeting of the Synod, which was held on the 13th November. This rescript was adverse to the Act and favoured the opposition; and the Bishops were unanimous.

The Government, by way of creating a diversion, now made a new proposal, offering to bind itself to receive the certificate of each Bishop as to the titles of his own priests. But this would not obviate the difficulty of bequests to members of religious bodies, or to priests or Bishops "and their successors," since in the eye of the law they would have no successors. Again the *Tablet* warned their Lordships that "the only safety for the Irish Church consisted in maintaining its independence whole and undiminished by the smallest fraction."

The Government triumphed after all. The Bishops, of whom twenty-three were present, were divided as to the advisability of accepting seats on the Board. Eight were in favour of doing so, the rest not. Nevertheless the eight, including Dr. Murray of Dublin, and Dr. Crolly of Armagh, refused to be bound by the majority, and persuaded the majority to agree to a resolution that

each should act according to his own conscience. That, as the *Tablet* pointed out, was giving the sanction of the majority to any course the minority might take. In other words, those who looked upon the Act as a positive danger to the Church concurred in allowing the rest to incur the danger which would affect them all. "The ink," says Lucas, "is hardly dry with which Dr. Murray recorded his detestation of the enormities of the present Government; and yet these eight prelates think it prudent to go out of their way to accept an Act which they disapprove, in order apparently to mark the confidence they feel in these tricksters and iniquitous persons."

The Government lost no time in appointing the Commission. It included Dr. Whately, the man who, after the famine, could boast that he never gave a penny to any poor person in the street, fearing he might be contributing to the maintenance of a Popish priest. The Catholic members were Drs. Murray, Crolly, and Kennedy, Mr. J. A. Blake, and Sir P. Bellew. Mr. Blake, though nominally a Catholic, was a man of more than doubtful Catholic principles; indeed a kind of Erastian. The appointment was exactly such as Lucas had predicted. Dr. Kennedy shortly withdrew, and his place was taken by Dr. Denver, under condition that certain of the objectionable clauses should be amended next session. Meantime the *Tablet* continued to expose the whole proceeding, showed what sort of Commission it

would be after the retirement or death of the Catholic Bishops, and agitated more vigorously than ever. Lucas took occasion to give the history of the Quarantotti rescript, relating how, when the Roman Government had deliberately given to the British Crown the right to veto any episcopal appointments made by the Holy See, the whole of the hierarchy set the rescript at defiance, and sent over to Rome two of the present minority of eight, to wit, Dr. Murray of Dublin and Dr. Murphy of Cork, to represent to the Holy See that the veto was "essentially injurious, and would be eventually destructive to the Roman Catholic religion in this country." Then the whole country was in an uproar; laity, priests, and bishops protested with one voice. When, therefore, on the 6th January 1815, the delegates received a reply to their remonstrance directly and emphatically justifying Cardinal Litta's letter, they refused to accept the instrument from Propaganda, returned it to the Cardinal Secretary, repeated their objections to Pius VII. in person, and immediately quitted Rome. On the Good Friday following, Dr. Murray, from the pulpit, compared those who advocated the veto to the wretches who bound our Lord to the pillar. This he preached to the laity, notwithstanding that the vetoists were backed by the Roman Curia.

This was in a matter purely ecclesiastical, whereas in the Bequests Act the laity were as much and as directly concerned as the clergy of

either order. Nevertheless in certain quarters any lay movement was deprecated and the interference of laymen condemned. On the 14th of December, however, the *Tablet* announced that meetings had been held all over the country; that the agitation was on the increase, and that Dr. Kennedy had declined his nomination. Next week the editor appealed to the success of the Dissenting agitation against the Education Bill, and called upon Catholics to employ the same means. His words were:—

"Catholics of Ireland, petition as well as agitate. Be prodigal of parchment as well as of harangues. Make the table of the House groan under the weight of your indignation; above all, give your settled hostility to this Bill in charge of as many Irish members as you can. Enable them to estimate your displeasure in avoirdupois weight. Stuff it into their pockets, thrust it into their bosoms, let it come (through the post) with a double rap at their hall-doors. Weary them with letters, deputations, interviews. Have them waited upon by the sturdiest of their constituents; take no denial; be put off with no sham generalities; be duped by no fine phrases. Come speedily to a clear and explicit understanding with them, and make them know that any failure in this important duty will be duly and punctually visited upon them."

When Parliament met on the 4th February following, Sir James Graham, with all the good faith that could be reasonably expected from any English Government, declared that, notwithstanding the agitation and the agreement with Dr. Denver, no alteration would be made in the clauses. No fresh legislation on the subject took place till the year 1862.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE GODLESS COLLEGES.

THE Government of Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham was untiring in its efforts to stop the Repeal movement and to cripple the influence of the Church. The most effectual means of furthering these two ends clearly was to create discord among the Bishops, or among the clergy, or between the Bishops and O'Connell, or between the clergy and the people.

The experience gained in passing the Bequests Act was not lost sight of, and no sooner had the Bishops come to their decision respecting it, than a certain Mr. Wyse, member for Waterford, was put up to propound an educational scheme which resulted in the establishment of the Queen's Colleges. The proposal was better calculated to create divisions than the Bequests Act, and it led to very warm discussions on the question both of education in general and of education without religion in particular.

The *Tablet* was first in the field, and in an article on the 23d of November 1844 the editor asked, "Are the Bishops awake? No doubt the soundly orthodox opinion of the Irish hierarchy

will be expressed when Mr. Wyse's projected piece of legislation shall have become law. So it was with the Bequests Bill; and we have no reason to suppose it will be otherwise now." That it was not only the higher education that was at stake, but the cause of Repeal also, Lucas saw plainly, and in an article a week later he called attention to the fact in these words:—"If any one were to predict that the edifice of political strength of which O'Connell has been the main architect was, just after it has reached its greatest height and been brought to its utmost perfection, to disappear in one day, like the prophet's gourd, to vanish and leave no trace behind; that the great political organisation which the people have toiled and laboured and sweated and starved for, to uphold which they have braved the vengeance of landlords, and have rotted in bogs and ditches, and have parted with their last shilling and pawned their last decent clothing, and have persevered through years of distress, and have hoped against hope, and have trampled down despair with heroic fortitude, . . . if any one were to prophecy that this great political organisation was about to be shattered to pieces like some house of cards, . . . he would, we suppose, be thought a very foolish and very extravagant prophet.

"If any one were to predict that the Holy Catholic Faith, which the people have died and suffered for in all practicable ways, . . . was about to pass away from some considerable portion of the

community, . . . he would, we suppose, be accounted little short of a madman or an idiot. . . .

"Yet we are bound to declare our deliberate and solemn apprehension that a few false steps now taken by those whom it most concerns may realise both these portentous visions."

So closely united were these two questions of Repeal and Education bound up together in Lucas's estimation.

As regards the apathy of the Bishops, he was not far wrong, though, strictly speaking, he was rather out in his calculations; for by the month of May 1845, at a meeting of their Lordships, Dr. Murray presiding, a memorial was prepared, proposed for adoption by Dr. Crolly, unanimously agreed to, and forwarded to the Government, declaring, among other things—

"That the Roman Catholic pupils could not attend the lectures on history, logic, metaphysics, moral philosophy, geology, or anatomy, without exposing their faith and morals to imminent danger, unless a Roman Catholic professor be appointed for each of those chairs."

The *Times* said, in reference to this protest, that the Bishops could have done no otherwise; that they had spoken only in accordance with the spiritual authorities of their Church all over the world; and that they only claimed for themselves the same rights which the Church of England has never ceased to demand on its own behalf. Sir Robert Inglis described the Bill "as a gigantic scheme of godless education."

The *Tablet* rejoiced at the unanimity of the Bishops. Five indeed were absent, but they afterwards, at a most critical moment, adhered to the resolution. Nevertheless, Lucas observed with regret that the memorial contained no statement of principle, pointed to no definite result, and consisted of a series of specific demands which were open to "an infinite variety of interpretations." Instinctively he felt that there was something hollow in the protest, a screw loose somewhere. At that time he had not been able to test a sufficient number of cases of the genus "Castle Bishop" to establish a principle regarding them in his own mind.

The Government flatly refused to listen to the demands of the memorialists or to the wishes of the people, who in large numbers petitioned against the Bill. On the other hand, it was known that the Young Ireland party and a considerable number of persons of the Wyse and Blake school were anxious for mixed education. Disunion on this point, therefore, was assured, and the chances of Repeal were by so much lessened.

In a series of articles extending over many months, Lucas went into the question of Education, its principles, objects, methods, and functions. His arguments, though in great measure of general application, nevertheless refer so much to the then passing events as to render them scarcely fitted for transcription here. But some extracts can hardly fail to be interesting. It may truly be

said that in no small degree the exertions of the *Tablet* at that epoch prevented the godless system from taking hold of the Irish people.

Lord Bacon quotes Cicero with approval when he says that the real cause of the Roman greatness was their devotion to religion, and that by this sole wisdom had they subdued all nations and races. Lucas, following Bacon, frequently remarked that no nation had become great whose greatness was not founded on religion. To exclude religion, then, from the teaching of youth, is to lay the foundation for the decadence of a nation. And he asks, "What is the basis, and indeed the essence, of all decent education? Is it chemistry? or botany? or history? or languages? or mathematics? Is it any or all of these things? or anything analogous to or resembling them in any particular? I imagine not. . . . In these godless colleges (and the remark applies with equal or greater force to primary education), history, science, languages (and arts) are to be taught, and out of the colleges they are to be instructed in the truths of religion forsooth. But is this education? Certainly not. All these (even including the last, the extra-collegiate part of the course) are but the handmaids of education after all. Teach all these things, and what have you gained, what *may* you have gained? A generation of sciolists, proud of the knowledge of many facts, noisy, disputatious, puffed up with the wind of an unwholesome conceit, indocile,

unbelieving, and impure. The highest culture of intellect, the most laborious accumulation of knowledge, may co-exist with all the vices and disorders of the soul. I should be ashamed to repeat these truisms, were it not that the promoters of the mixed system are ignorant or careless of the great truth that education is not *teaching*, but *training;* not cramming with knowledge, even of religion, but building up in virtuous habits and the nurture of the spiritual life. In these mixed colleges what can there be of training? forming of habits? spiritual nurture and discipline? No such thing is contemplated, nor is it attainable. On the contrary, the organisation of spiritual and moral discipline as the basis of education is deliberately rejected as an evil. . . . It is, of course, impossible to have spiritual discipline and the formation of religious habits without making religion the basis, the Alpha and Omega of the whole matter; without making religious practices a part of the daily routine; without surrounding all secular tuition with an atmosphere of religion; without labouring practically to instil into the conscience the great truth that every, the smallest, action must be either religious or irreligious; that there can be no real separation between secular pursuits and spiritual duties; that the most worldly and trivial occupation must be either an act of service to God or a sacrifice to the Devil. . . . I ask this plain question, Which method of education is in itself the best—*mixed*

education without—*necessarily* without religious discipline, courses, and practices of piety; or separate education with every possible aid and advantage of the kind alluded to? In other words, is religious training a good or a bad thing? I defy any sane man who is not a candidate for the honour of atheism to deny that religious training is a good thing, is the main good in all education, is the one thing to secure which every other thing would be well lost.

"Leaving all purely spiritual discipline out of account, what efficient intellectual education (even) can there be in mixed halls and classes and lecture-rooms? Is it by lectures and the formal intercourse of a lecture-room that the experienced teacher trains the youthful intellect? Of course nothing of the sort. Under such a system the intellect is *not* trained, is *not* tutored, is *not* guided; but is left to wander at random and to be moulded by the accidental pressure of circumstances. For the intellect as well as for the spiritual nature, habitual and familiar intercourse between the teacher and the taught is the great instrument of all sound education. Is there, then, to be in these mixed colleges this familiar intercourse between master and pupil? If not, the whole system is radically defective even on the side of the intellect. If there is, I should like to know what possible security there can be against the worst and most odious practices of sceptical proselytism? In the nature of the case there can be none. In public

lectures a teacher may (or rather will) be on his guard if he has the commonest prudence. But against the artful discourses in private of an acute but perverted understanding there can be no protection. The professor is placed in a situation to claim respect and deference; that is, in a position which renders it easy for him to scatter poison unsuspected.

"But this is not all. In all these schemes, the course of education is to be very wide and very various, and yet everything is to be excluded from it which can render the instruction 'sectarian,' as it is called. All vastly fine on paper, but how will it work in practice? Who is to be in the chair of history? A Catholic, an Anglican, a Presbyterian, or a Unitarian? For nineteen hundred years at least there is hardly a historical topic which would not be handled differently by every one of these four religionists. History, then, must be excluded from your course of study—history, biography, and every cognate subject which admits of ethical consideration, or of any religious admixture. The sciences of ethics and political economy must, of course, be rejected at the outset. The speculations of geology admit of various applications to ecclesiastical history. These matters must be very closely watched, and the principles of the professor very closely scrutinised. The medical sciences are equally open to difficulty. A Catholic recognises the possibility of miraculous cures, of demoniac possessions, with their numerous

train of symptoms, and the great principle of a close and intimate connection between the natural world and the supernatural. Is medical science to be taught in accordance with this view or in opposition to it? Under the mixed system, of course, it will depend upon the accident of the professor. This year a sceptical tone will be in fashion, next year a devout. This year mesmerism will be a wholesome revelation or discovery, next year a diabolism and a nuisance. Then as to the connection among the sciences and the fundamental philosophy which should bind them together, is this branch, this important branch, to be admitted within the college walls? If so, who is to be the patron saint of the course? St. Thomas of Aquin? or Lord Bacon? or De Maistre? Are we to have the philosophy of semi-materialism or the profound wisdom of the Angel of the Schools? If astronomy is taught, what will be said about Galileo? What about the allegiance due from the man of science to the authorised teachers of religion? What, consequently, about the spirit in which all physical inquiries should be conducted? Literature is in the same predicament. Who are to be the guides? what the landmarks? who the models for admiration and imitation? The catalogue of difficulties is endless, and no one but a quack or an indifferentist would ever think of reconciling so many discordant pretensions in one course of study. Everything

must depend upon the teachers, who will be appointed by the Government."

On the subject of the effects of the godless system as applied to higher education Lucas was particularly well qualified to speak. His experience at the London University had given him practical proof of the dangers of the system. It may be said that he himself proved the fallacy of his own argument. But this was not so. He had always been brought up with very strict views on the subject of religion. Nevertheless, he had passed through a period of infidelity, and it was only the extraordinary candour of his mind, his singleness of purpose, his unswerving love of the truth for its own sake, that enabled him to surmount the obstacles which beset his path. I do not attribute the clearness of his vision to the subtlety, grasp, depth, and acuteness of his intellectual powers alone, or even principally. For, as he himself says, "The intellect sees with eyes of the heart and of the soul; and for it to think or reason justly, these its main organs must be purged and cleansed from all defilement. This being accomplished, the possibility of true intellectual guidance follows." The very history of these controversies proves the truth of his declaration. He himself had but one object—the upholding of the truth. "Others say, 'All truth is one,' but they act as if the 'perfect jewel' could be hawked about without injury, as if light were compatible with a little darkness,

security with admitted danger, truth itself with some falsehood; as if an inferior mundane advantage to some were to be gained at the cost of an infinite disadvantage to many more."

To the objection that the National system of primary education had been permitted by the Holy See, Lucas replied, "Yes! as an evil to be tolerated; but where better conditions can be obtained, it, and all modes of education like it, are condemned and denounced beforehand. It is, he says, the duty of Bishops and parish priests to labour daily to root out the evil nature from the schools under the National Board.

"It is true that this system has turned out to a great extent as we should wish, for the simple reason that every party has been at liberty to set up schools according to its own fancy. The schools have been practically denominational, and the children being young, the evil is perhaps at its minimum." But the evils of the primary schools are enormously enhanced at a later period of life, "when the mind will speculate, and when it will busy itself about the problems of eternity. Then you have to guide it by enlightening it, and so to enlighten it as to prevent it leaping over all wholesome bounds. For a young man just starting into the mazes of metaphysical inquiry, what is wanted is not merely religious instruction, not merely theological lectures, not merely expansions of the Catechism of the Council of Trent. What is wanted is many-sided guidance for

the understanding, a wholesome discipline of a spiritual nature. This time of life, as every one knows, is an age of peculiar peril: it needs, then, a peculiar protection. And how is this guidance to be given? . . . One mode is to demonstrate to the pupil by evidence which he cannot reject that there is no antagonism between the highest cultivation of the mind and the humblest and most austere piety, and that the most abstruse problems of speculation are capable of being resolved, by men of a competent human culture, on the side of faith. It is to present him with living examples of faith and knowledge, piety and learning, personified and made vital in the same individuals." Whereas in mixed colleges "there is necessarily a divorce between the two branches of learning."

This was only the same view that he "had advocated two years previously when the question was mooted in Parliament of opening Oxford and Cambridge to English Catholics and Dissenters. Then the *Tablet* took upon itself, on behalf of Catholics, warmly to oppose any such baneful concession, and to deprecate it as a positive injury."

The notion that the association of Catholic with other youths would be beneficial to the cause of Repeal was entertained by a number of the party who were just coming into prominence under the name of Young Ireland. Hostility to the Catholic religion had been at the bottom of

enormous injustice in Ireland, and while the non-Catholic members of the new party wished to break down the religious barriers between the different sections of the people, the Catholic members, several of whose leaders had been educated at Trinity College, were ready to show their willingness to let bygones be bygones. Lucas knew that the non-Catholic leaders were sincere, and that they had no desire to undermine the faith of their Catholic fellow-countrymen. They stood in a position altogether different from that occupied by Sir Robert Peel. With them there was no hypocritical pretence, no *arrière pensée.* They really did not appreciate the danger to Catholic youth; it was not likely they should do so. To tell the truth, no small proportion of their Catholic friends had become so engrossed with political ideas and projects as to forget the higher claims of moral obligation. For these enthusiastic, patriotic, misguided young men Lucas had a real affection and a genuine admiration, and at the same time an ardent desire for their conversion, intellectual and moral. How he treated them the reader will see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CRIME OF APOSTASY.

DURING the absence, in consequence of illness, of the editor of the *Nation* (Mr. Gavan Duffy), that journal had taken exception to an article in the *Dublin Review.* The writer had said that an apostate from the Catholic Church was not an authority regarding the Catholic religion. To this the *Nation* demurred, declaring that it looked like a threat against the apostate, and that "we" would not stand tamely by and see any man threatened or denounced for changing his creed. The *Tablet*, in a notice of the *Dublin Review* article, had said:—

"It is the doctrine of the Catholic Church that a person who deliberately apostatises from the Catholic faith is not merely mistaken in his judgment, but is deeply criminal and perverted in his moral nature."

And the editor claims the right for every Catholic to say so, maintaining that there is no greater want of tolerance in asserting this than there is in saying that the Hindoo religion is bloody and the moral law of Mohammedanism loose. He asserts that toleration does not con-

sist in keeping down all expression of opinion or conviction as to the moral quality of acts connected with religion. This, he says, would be *in*tolerance; and herein he is supported by John Stuart Mill, whatever may be the value of his adhesion.

This article brought a letter from a gentleman in Dublin, who expressed himself painfully astonished at the above doctrine, and asked whether the editor was sure of his ground. A private correspondence ensued, which resulted in the doubts and difficulties of the correspondent being cleared up. The letter itself gave occasion to an article on the subject, in which the whole argument is placed concisely yet fully before the reader.

The editor was astonished at the unaffected ignorance of a man whose will, intention, and faith were in every way sound. The fact that such a thing could be; that any doubt as to the essential criminality of deliberate apostasy was possible, struck him with the greatest surprise, till he learned that this was one of the fruits of a mixed education in Dublin University. Then the whole matter became quite clear to him. He at once proceeds to state the case.

"The difficulty," he says, "arises in this way. The objector knows, or thinks he knows, a man brought up as a Catholic; after a time beset with doubts; applying to the resolution of those doubts all the energies of an honest intellect; failing to clear them up, and sinking into apostasy from a

sheer inability to make good to the intellect the teachings of the Infallible Church. 'Shall I,' says the objector, 'conclude this person to be guilty of crime, if he has really canvassed the subject with heartfelt-sincerity and earnestness? or can I assume to be insincere one of whose mental honesty I am as assured as I am of my own? I find it impossible to do either of these things, and therefore I am constrained to believe that he has fallen in spite of himself, and therefore with no stain of guilt or crime.'

"Be it so. But what then? If this indifferency of the intellect were all that is necessary to the attainment of religious knowledge, we should have a new beatitude not mentioned in St. Matthew. It would be, 'Blessed are they of clear, penetrating intellect, and of unbiassed logical powers, for they shall see God.' Whereas quite a different Gospel is preached to us, the kernel of which is utterly opposed to this imaginary beatitude. The words of our Saviour are express, 'Blessed are the clean of heart.' . . . If a man see these things only with his intellect, he is of necessity blind. Zeal for the discovery of the truth and an honest use of the understanding are good in their way, and are not to be depreciated. But the objection we are considering supposes them to be sufficient. This is a most fatal delusion.

"In the first place, the discernment of the truths of religion is not within the scope of the natural understanding, nor is this its province in any

shape. 'The natural (or sensual) man,' says the Apostle, 'perceiveth not the things that are of the spirit of God, for it is foolishness to him, neither can he understand them, because they are spiritually discerned.' . . . It is, then, not the natural man, not the human understanding, however upright, but the spiritual faculty alone by which religious truths can be grasped and appropriated. . . . To set the natural understanding in quest of spiritual truths is like using the ears to see or the eyes to hear; and to protest that a man who has used his intellect honestly, and yet has failed to remain a Catholic, is *therefore* guiltless, is like saying that a man who has bandaged his eyes and used his ears to see is blameless for not seeing. The question, then, is not how the apostate (or atheist) has used his intellect, but how he has used his *whole spiritual nature*, of which his natural intellect is merely one of the upper and nobler servants. His sincerity (in the vulgar sense of the word) is a very small thing indeed compared with this. Nay, the sincerity of his apostasy (or unbelief) may be the very measure and punishment of his guilt. When his heart is hardened and corrupted by sensuality or *pride*, the grace of God is withdrawn from him; the eyes of his mind are so blinded that he cannot see; and his intellect, instead of being the servant of God, becomes the bond-slave of hell, doing the work of the Devil the more faithfully, the more honestly and jealously it works. . . . And when the poor enslaved

soul sleeps in so terrible a security that not one uneasy dream is vouchsafed to give it warning of its approaching fate, nothing can be imagined more awful or more pitiable than the condition of such a soul.

"'Understanding,' says the Hebrew Prophet; 'Faith,' says the Christian dispensation, 'is a gift of the Holy Ghost,'—a *gift*, mind, not an *acquirement;* and its whole scope and purpose has reference far more to the moral than to the intellectual nature of man. The lasting possession of it cannot be secured by keeping the intellect bright. It may be forfeited by any spiritual delinquency. Pride may root it out; uncleanness may blind the eyes of the soul; gluttony may make torpid its sense; an ungrateful neglect of the graces of the Holy Ghost may kindle God's anger; carelessness in the use of the ordinary sacramental helps may cause the life of the soul to languish and wither away. Where by these or any other modes faith is forfeited and the grace of God withdrawn, what hunting out of materials for a sound judgment, what impartiality in weighing evidence, can suffice to merit the restoration of the good gift, or to discover, without the heavenly light, that upon which no mere earthly candle can shed so much as one solitary ray?

"When, therefore, you hear of one having apostatised (or of a sceptic), think of the many chances to which he may have been subject. Was he humble? was he chaste? was he instant in prayer?

had he in all respects, so far as human frailty will permit, led a pure, holy, spotless, and edifying life? These things you cannot know, and therefore you cannot judge the individual case; you cannot discern the secret sin hidden beneath the veil of a decent exterior, from which his miserable ruin may have proceeded. Be it enough to know that no such ruin can be blameless; that no one who has led such a life as we have just described ever fell, or ever can fall, into this terrible abyss."

This was addressed to what Lucas believed to be a large class of excellent, well-intentioned, well-educated young Irish Catholics, whose faith was sound, but whose whole system had been tainted and stained by the mixed education of Trinity College. The way in which some at least of these young men took the lesson was admirable. But if they were convinced on this point, it was not easy to convert a whole party from a cherished and plausible notion. The doctrine of the *Tablet* had aroused in the minds of some even of Lucas's admirers a violent antipathy. These men conceived that the line taken by him would seriously injure Ireland, and a sharp controversy on the subject took place between the *Tablet* and the *Belfast Vindicator*.

Young Ireland, for the most part, stuck to its opinion; writers of the party conjured up imaginary difficulties and imaginary practices supposed to be involved in the *Tablet's* arguments. These

mistakes the editor tried to correct. He said that, strange as it might seem, he was not contending at all for separate education; that within certain limits, he had no objection whatever to mixed education, nor did he believe that in a mixed population, a strictly separate education was either physically or morally possible. He contended that all education, Heathenish, Mohammedan, Pantheist, Protestant, or Catholic, is religious, based on religion, includes a religious training—not merely instruction—of the soul, the heart, and the mind. Further, he says that the Catholic religion, without being intolerant in the odious sense of the word, is *exclusive*, and teaches that God has revealed and commanded one way, and only one way, of salvation; that this revelation embraces certain doctrines, which, taken as a whole, are peculiar to Catholicism; that the intellectual and moral habits arising out of these doctrines are founded on revelation and grace, not on nature; that the principal object of all education is the avoidance of sin; that the collegiate age is one of peculiar danger in this respect; that the only effective safeguard against sin is to be found in the Catholic religion; that, so far as is physically possible, the principles of college education should be identical with those of a judiciously conducted home education; that therefore the master should have a parent's authority over his pupils; that if Protestants choose to trust their children to Catholic masters, he has no objection (in principle); but that Pro-

testants see plainly enough (what they consider) the danger of placing the education of their children in Catholic hands, and that he cannot conceive the difficulty of recognising a similar objection on the Catholic side.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE GODLESS COLLEGES AGAIN—ASTRO-THEOLOGY.

WHEN the draft Bill for establishing the colleges appeared, with a clause placing the nomination of professors in the hands of the Government, the *Nation* declared that if this provision were retained the Bill must be resisted and defeated, in or out of Parliament. Yet such was the scheme. Her Majesty, or rather her Majesty's Majesty (the Prime Minister), was to be practically "president, vice-president, professor, bursar, registrar, librarian, and all other officers" in her or his own proper person. "Not a mouse could nibble a cheese-rind without leave of a Secretary of State." Then there were to be "theological lectures," but no "religious test." This notion of religious lectures and lecture-rooms Lucas looked upon as a piece of most contemptible humbug.

Seeing how completely education in the colleges was to be in the hands of the Government, Lucas maintained that, whatever else an advocate of the scheme might be, he could by no possibility be a Repealer.

It was at this time that the Bishops met in

Dublin, as before related, and unanimously condemned the Bill.

When the order of the day for going into committee was reached, O'Connell presented one petition signed by 150,000 persons, 60,000 of whom resided in Dublin. It was waste of time and energy. The Bill was carried, and then within six months a most astounding event took place. Dr. Crolly, who had moved the resolution at the meeting of the Bishops to the effect that attendance of pupils at these colleges would "be dangerous to their faith and morals," actually went up to Dublin Castle to petition that one of these pernicious establishments should be placed in his own metropolitan city of Armagh, rather than at Belfast. When this got wind, and before any others of the Episcopacy had publicly declared themselves renegades to the cause of religious education, the editor of the *Tablet* expressed himself in extremely vigorous and eloquent language. He did not, could not, believe in any such defection; could not persuade himself that Dr. Crolly was striving to have established in his own city a nest of infidelity and immorality, to make Armagh the receptacle of one of those hot-beds of vice and irreligion, which he himself had denounced. The *Tablet* was of course attacked for venturing into the arena of religious politics. The Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Ryan, who was about to secede along with others of their Lordships, thought "newspaper discussions on religious sub-

jects calculated to lead to irritation and estrangement." It was the old, old tale: the prevaricators did not dare to have their doings brought to the light, "lest they should be reproved."

Lucas took a different view of his position and duty as a Catholic journalist, and as a man of common sense. He considered that "isolated opinions formed unconnectedly upon single questions" are of little value; that at all times, and especially in times of crises and in dealing with institutions of long growth and permanent subsistence, only "those opinions are of any value which spring from a careful and considerate survey of the ground-plan upon which affairs are built." He had made such a survey, and formed a clear and definite notion of this ground-plan, and every article he had written was based upon this estimate. He was, therefore, not easily moved out of his course by the actions of people of narrower or shallower minds, or of minds more open to local and temporary influences.

Lucas was charged with taking a side in this controversy with one party of the Bishops against the other. He did not see how to avoid this. The Bishops themselves did not eschew party. And though it was complimentary to be asked to strike out a third course that should rise high and serene above the vulgar politics of mere Bishops, yet he declined to follow the advice.

"One side," he points out, "is prepared to make the most inconceivable sacrifices to earn

the good-will of men in authority, and to treat with a condescending pity all who presume to doubt the everlasting uprightness of their bureaucratic benefactors. The other is resolved, if it be possible, to sacrifice nothing, and to have written and legal security for every step that it takes in such doubtful company."

On this question it was impossible to be silent. A public writer must take one side or the other. Lucas had no notion of "such an advocacy as would be agreeable to the one he condemned." There were two courses open to him—either to take a side openly, honestly, and strenuously to uphold it, and so to incur the hostility of the other party, or to write in an uncertain way, expressing indeed his agreement with one side, but so as to do it no service. He preferred the anger of his opponents as an alternative.

As things stood, he was placed in an awkward position. The whole of the Bishops except five who were absent had in May signed the protestation. When the rumours of defection gained a certain consistency, eighteen of the Bishops, including the five, renewed their protest against the Bill. Thus, said Lucas, "we have six Bishops who have taken both sides. Arithmetically the case stands thus: eighteen *whole Bishops* and six *halves of Bishops* on one side, and on the other the remaining six halves of Bishops. Those who understand the value in theology of *the half of a Bishop* may solve this problem, which we con-

fess is too high for our limited reach." Thus we have not to decide between Dr. Murray and Dr. McHale, for they both agree. "The Episcopacy is undivided on the point that these colleges are panders to everlasting damnation." It was obviously impossible not to take the side of the May protesters.

Then it was said that Dr. Crolly was mad; that he had put forward a supremely ridiculous suggestion for making all the northern railways converge on Armagh, and that this was at the bottom of the inconsistency of himself and his friends. The *Tablet* expressed regret at this sad solution of a sorrowful riddle, observing that such fickleness as had been apprehended would, if persevered in, neutralise any future decision of the Bishops.

"If the enormities of one month are to be metamorphosed into the proprieties of another, what is to prevent a counter-metamorphosis? It would have an unpleasant influence on the public mind if men were accustomed to consider the judgments of the Bishops on points of theology as changeable as the fashions of ribands; to habituate them to see one set of doctrines come in with muslin and another with furs; to have a proposition deliberately affirmed when the trees wear their early green, and deliberately negatived at the fall of the leaf; to have one course of proceeding for the vernal, and another for the autumnal equinox; to vary the Faith and questions thereon depending according as the earth is in its aphelion or its peri-

helion; to submit the soul of the faithful to skyey influences; to whisk them from blessings to curses by the tails of comets; to exchange the stability of creeds for the fanciful uncertainty of Moore's Almanack. There may be some sound astronomical reason for holding the balance even when the sun is in the Scales, and for going backward when he enters the Crab; but even so, we submit that this new science of judicial astro-theology is too much in its infancy, and its principles as yet too imperfectly ascertained, to make it a safe resort in the determination of practical questions like those under discussion."

Whether the obloquy and ridicule thus showered upon the treacherous scheme overbalanced the support of the friends of the Government is not recorded. That the recalcitrants were favoured with both is certain. The *Tablet* wanted to know whether it was that there was too much piety in Ireland, and whether, as in the case of well-mixed punch, a little squeeze of sour Presbyterianism was wanted to make the drink palatable? Were these Bishops so overdone with tranquillity that they were like a well-known individual who wanted a wife to make him uneasy?

"'Soft words,' it is said, 'butter no parsnips.' But it seems the words of Sir Robert Peel are softer than oil. We have no doubt the new system [is borrowed] from the culinary art. The knights of the ladle have to do with the Devil as well as their reverences. . . . [Thus we have] devilled

duck, devilled kidney, devilled biscuit, devilled goose. . . . It appears to be decreed that Ireland shall be equally familiar with devilled college. There is a danger indeed that both devilled kidneys and devilled college . . . may occasionally taste a little too hot of the combustible ingredients. What is the remedy? Mrs. Rundell shall tell us.

"'*N.B.—A little cold fresh butter will cool the mouth should the Devil prove too powerful.*'

"So long as Sir Robert will keep on hand a sufficient supply of cold fresh butter, we suppose the Devil will never be thought too powerful."

The Bishops met in November and confirmed the May resolution, only the minority tried to have it conveyed to Rome in a manner less calculated to defeat their object.

The minority even decided to appeal to Rome. This Lucas considered a downright mean proceeding. It was well known that the Holy See hates mixed education. But the plan of the Castle Bishops was a notable way of removing the onus of rejecting the scheme from their own shoulders, and putting it on those of the Roman Government, who would have to bear the displeasure of the Court of St. James in case of an adverse decision. The Bishops made many efforts to evade the decision, and the affair did not terminate for several years. Meantime other events occurred to which we must now proceed.

CHAPTER XVII.

1846—*CARLYLE—THE FAMINE.*

DURING these years Lucas kept up an intimacy with a number of personages of opposite and irreconcilable views and principles. The most conspicuous of these, outside the Catholic body, were John Stuart Mill and Thomas Carlyle. His friendship with the former continued to the last; but Carlyle diverged more and more from the (seeming) principles which had attracted Lucas in the first instance, and which he thought underlay many anti-Catholic expressions. The intimacy consequently gradually died out. For years, however, he was a frequent visitor at Carlyle's house, and he used to say that a conversation with him always freshened him, and gave him new ideas to ponder over and work out. It was his practice to take friends to visit the philosopher. On one occasion he took three fervent Young Irelanders to tea. Carlyle entertained them with inordinate praise of Henry VIII. and Cromwell. Lucas was very silent, talking mostly with Mrs. Carlyle. On another occasion Mrs. Carlyle said aloud to Lucas, "He," pointing to her husband, "tells me I have no reason to be in fear of hell."

"Well," said Lucas, "I think all his principles lead logically to a belief in hell." "Well," replied Carlyle, "in a certain sense that is true," vouchsafing no further explanation. Lucas was very friendly with Mrs. Carlyle, and had the deepest pity for the shipwreck of her faith, which her husband had occasioned, without giving her anything to replace it. He was once asked if Mrs. Carlyle understood her husband. "Understand him!" said Lucas, "she sees through him and out at the other side." "I remember," says a friend, "his indignation at Carlyle's Latter-day pamphlet about the Jesuits." "Poor Carlyle!" he exclaimed, "may my soul *not* be with his in the next world." And on his friend remarking on this breach of charity, he replied, "Now look here. Carlyle knows what the Jesuits really and in truth are, just as well as you do, and he writes the like of this about them."

Towards the end of 1845, Lucas's eyesight failed, and he had to use the assistance of an amanuensis. Though composition by way of dictation was new to him, he produced under the inconvenience some very brilliant articles on a variety of subjects, as, for example, on political economy, the poor-laws, the characters of living and deceased statesmen, on the distribution of wealth, on the obedience due by soldiers and claimable by the Crown in case of unjust wars. But the object that occupied his most unremitting attention for two years was the great Irish famine.

It was during the first year of this dreadful calamity that the Corn Laws were repealed. This event inaugurated the adoption of a new fiscal system based upon the theories of the political economists, and had a direct and conspicuous bearing on the state of Ireland for many years. The experiment was one to which English statesmen felt bound to give a fair trial. Now, though Lucas by no means adopted the "principles" of Free Trade, he regarded the abandonment of protective duties on corn as just and necessary. In an article in January 1846 he remarks :—

"However deadly and pernicious in its consequences the agitation which preceded the repeal of the Corn Laws might be, yet was it made a wise, prudent, and necessary course by the selfish huxtering of the aristocracy, which had seen nothing in their hereditary possessions but a means for gratifying their" extravagance. To Ireland, the first effect of the repeal should have been beneficial under the circumstances; but it could not but be fatal to that country unless other measures followed in the interest of the Irish cultivators, whose rents had been fixed on the basis of Protection. This Lucas foresaw, and the more plainly as he thoroughly disbelieved in the selfish science. So strongly was he persuaded of the inherent viciousness of the "demand and supply" theory as enforced by argument and reduced to practice at that time,

that he used frequently to express the opinion that, if successful in establishing their policy, the Manchester School would in the end materially help in the ruin of this country. How far his judgment was founded in reason the future will show. Grounded as it was upon this hateful principle, the conduct of British statesmen towards Ireland in 1846–47 appeared to him simply inhuman. In the autumn of 1845 the blight had attacked the potato crop throughout the United Kingdom. In Ireland, the disease was not only more virulent and more wide-spread, but far more disastrous than in Great Britain, inasmuch as the potato was the chief food of the people. The failure of the crop was brought before Sir Robert Peel's Government as early as the 17th of October 1845, in a despatch addressed by the Lord Lieutenant to the Home Secretary. Nevertheless when Parliament met on 22nd January 1846, no provision whatever had been made for the want of food, which the despatch said would be felt in all its intensity about February. The Queen's speech declared that every precaution had been taken which it was in her power to adopt for the purpose of alleviating the suffering which might be caused by this calamity. But this was a gross misrepresentation. The fact was, no preparation had been made—none whatever. Sir Robert Peel, who had long been casting about for a decent excuse for admitting that his pet "Sliding Scale" was a total failure, made use of the coming famine in Ireland

to furnish the pretext, and to justify him in repealing the Corn Laws. To him, therefore, the Irish famine was a perfect godsend.

To have based repeal on the deficient English harvest, says the *Tablet*, would have been too naked an avowal of incompetency. Accordingly "they bring Providence upon the stage, and represent Him as having, by the mysterious dispensation of the potato famine, rendered the maintenance of Protection impossible."

But as for having taken any steps to prepare for the Irish distress, Peel's first measure was a Coercion Bill, and this at a time when in Dungarvan, for example, five thousand human beings were in a state of want and wretchedness, and when half of the potatoes which the poor-law guardians there had stored up for future use were found to be rotten, and the remainder fast decaying. Sir James Graham, in a debate on 17th February, nearly a month after the opening of Parliament, admitted that 4,000,000 people would for four months of the year be without their usual means of subsistence; and to relieve this amount of want the Government had sanctioned the advance of "no less a sum than £448,000, to be laid out in public works" in Ireland. Meantime starvation was rife, and while every application to the Lord Lieutenant for instant assistance, whether from Roscommon, Clare, Donegal, or elsewhere, was referred to a "Commission appointed to inquire," it was certain that even the £448,000 would not

come into circulation till thousands would have been starved to death. "Prospective relief for present famine." Could there be a more insulting mockery? Well, yes! there was the Coercion Bill, the second clause of which gave the Lord Lieutenant and Council power to transport for fifteen years any person found outside his hut after dark in any proclaimed district. On this the *Tablet* remarks:—

"The obvious hardship of this in innumerable instances hardly requires a remark. That the population of a whole district shall be kept within their houses or huts—and such huts!—between the hours of four in the afternoon and eight in the morning; that they shall be forbidden to procure refreshment at a public-house except at times when they ought to be employed in their daily labour; that except during the light of day no man shall dare to be taken ill, or at least to procure the remedies necessary for body and soul in cases of sudden illness, are regulations of such unendurable hardship, that nothing but the most stringent necessity can be regarded as a justification for them."

Yet Lord St. Germains admitted that a large proportion of agrarian crimes were committed in broad daylight. That being so, the Act only "adds to the number of those families whose members are stamped as connected with breaches of the law. It makes convicts of innocent men, and is sure to give to many a household that

has hitherto prided itself on the decency and regularity of its proceedings one or more members who will finish their education at the hulks or in gaol, or in the still more immoral atmosphere of Van Diemen's Land or Norfolk Island. By this means the number of the disaffected is increased, the impossibility of innocence protecting a good name rendered obvious, and the motives for abstaining from guilt proportionately diminished."

As a set-off, Ministers proposed to enlarge the franchise, to put the municipalities on a better footing, and to place the relations of landlord and tenant on a just basis.

The *Tablet* felt no assurance that any of these nostrums would be honestly applied, and it would appear the editor was correct. Unrelieved famine, the franchise, and the creation of crimes were not likely to work together.

But, in addition to these remedies and to the £448,000 to be advanced in due course, the Government brought in a Bill for giving medical relief in cases of fever. Mr. Poulett Scrope moved that the poor-law guardians should be recommended to give outdoor relief, saying that want of food was the cause of fever.

"The suggestion was of course most vigorously opposed by Sir James Graham for the Government. His speech was received with infinite respect by the House, and probably on that account we should naturally expect it to be in

every part false in its reasonings and vicious in its conclusions." So said the *Tablet*.

Sir James based his opposition to Mr. Scrope's motion on the ground that—

"They were bound to consult Irish feelings, habits, and laws, as they had existed for centuries. . . . But for nearly three centuries there had been in Ireland no claim for maintenance; for three centuries no law for the relief of the Irish poor ever yet found a place on the statute book of that country."

Therefore no claim for relief should be admitted now! And the House applauded. The *Tablet* remarks:—

"We dare say Sir James is perfectly sincere in the sentiments uttered on this occasion, but, sincere or fraudulent, what an infernal mockery of the sacredness of distress is it to give utterance to such sentiments!"

While objecting to indiscriminate almsgiving, the editor of the *Tablet* does not see any insuperable difficulty in providing a remedy. He condemns in very strong language the perversity which, in opposition to the known wishes of the people, established the workhouse test in 1837, and now, under pretence of consulting Irish feelings, refuses to grant outdoor relief; these Irish feelings being none other than the feelings of the landowners.

Another reason put forward by Sir James Graham the *Tablet* characterises as "infamous," viz., that—

"The Irish people are, in virtue of their religion, so charitable, that the distress will be met by charity without throwing

on the land burdens which would in fact be an interference with the rights of property."

When the Corn Laws were to be repealed with a view of reducing the prices of the staple of Irish produce, no provision was made or proposed for reducing rents in proportion to the reduction in prices. The rights of the tenants' property were in no way considered. But now, while the people were starving, the rights of the landlords were so sacred that, for their preservation, the duties of the landlords were absolutely denied.

Lord Grey made a speech in the House of Lords, in which all the grievances alleged then or since as regards the tenure of land and the robberies committed by the landlords were admitted fully and with emphasis. Mr. Ray also, on behalf of the Repeal Association, published a report stating the causes of distress and crime. But neither one nor the other proposed any practical remedy.

The *Tablet* remarked that the Coercion Bill "professed to secure the protection of life. But oh! that they would protect, show some little respect for, the life of the poor; would that they would practically show that they are filled with efficacious horror at those worst of murders, at that worst sacrifice of life, which is occasioned by starvation. Let them protect this life, and other lives will protect themselves. Let them give food to the hungry, clothing to the naked, shelter to the houseless, and they will need no barbarous

schemes for shutting up two millions of people during sixteen hours of the day."

The editor considered this might be done easily enough.

"For the life of us we cannot see where lies the difficulty of giving any man an absolute right to relief with the sole condition of his willingness to labour, like an honest man, for such wages as will support a family.

"Why cannot this be done? What is the difficulty? We have never seen any objection stated which bore the least appearance of soundness or validity.

"Is it the difficulty of finding employment in Ireland? Is there not waste land to cultivate? bog to drain and reclaim? improved methods of tillage to introduce by way of example? more decent methods of living, and habits of life to set before the people for their imitation?"

Mr. Poulett Scrope brought in a Bill for placing the waste lands under a Commission. He said there were 2,000,000 acres in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught which might be improved; thus confirming Lucas's view.

In the debate on Lord Grey's resolution, the Duke of Wellington distinguished himself by a peculiar kind of wisdom. He spoke of the "vast capital and great riches" of Ireland. While uttering the sentence in which these words occur, it struck his Grace that the capital was English, not Irish; so he proceeded, "I do not much care whether this capital in Ireland is the property of Irishmen or not." And then he declared his belief that there was no strong dislike to the Established Church in Ireland. But Lord Brougham

it was who contributed the gem to the debate. He "did believe that in Ireland those duties (of property) were well and honestly and honourably discharged; and further, that when a landlord refrained from a wholesale eviction of tenants (who had no means of subsistence off their holdings), he was conferring a favour and doing an act of kindness."

Lord Brougham had been in his day a Radical, but of late years he had ratted. The editor of the *Tablet* could not think of him without being reminded of the chamber in hell to which Dante consigned traitors. The moment a man commits a notable treason—so the poet feigned—his soul leaves his body and takes up its eternal abode in the region of torment, while the body, for the remainder of its term on earth, is taken possession of by a demon. Now as to Lord Brougham, it really did seem as if his former soul had quitted his body, and that some mischievous imp had got hold of it; and Lucas could not help hearing in his ears the sound of Dante's words—"Brancha D'Oria seems to be walking the earth, and yet he has been in this place many years."

Brougham spoke of the duties of property as "imperfect obligations."

Lucas exclaims, "Away with this cant; there is One who knows how perfect are the duties which Lord Brougham styles imperfect, and little will his distinction between perfect and imperfect avail on the day when it shall be said—'Depart from

me into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels; for I was hungry, and you gave me not to eat,' " and the rest. Lucas had indeed a curious belief that those words mean what they say, and that their application might prove more or less awkward for some people. He asks a question at which your British moralist will hold up his hands and raise his eyes. " If the right of every man to use his property as he lists is so sacred and inviolable, let us have the same rule for both parties. If the landlord may discharge his bailiff at the peasant's belly, why may not the peasant discharge his pistol at the landlord's head? He is as acute a moralist as Brougham, and his ethics every bit as pure. He has as much right on his side as the landlord." That is to say, neither has any such right.

This was obviously encouraging confiscation. It seemed singular that a man's love for the lives of the poor should equal his love for the property of the rich; but such was Lucas's way of estimating things.

Down to August the Government did nothing more towards relieving the distress, except to bring over some cargoes of Indian-corn, which they kept in store till the famine-fever had carried off very many of the people. Meantime they were pressing forward the Coercion or Arms Bill. O'Connell and the Irish party opposed it with all the pertinacity possible: the business of the House was delayed and disjointed, and that upon

which Sir Robert Peel and this country had set its mind as the one great measure of the session, namely, the repeal of the Corn Laws, was brought to a standstill. It is interesting and instructive to turn back to the debates of this period, and to note that the very same reproaches were used, and in almost the same words, as when the Irish Nationalists obstructed the passing of Mr. Forster's Suspects Bill. The famine could not be relieved till the Corn Laws were repealed; Coercion must come first; then the repeal of the Corn Laws, then the maize in store or on the way could be put into the market, not before. O'Connell was abused in the usual English fashion. But he and Smith O'Brien were obstinate, and the Peel Government carried no Coercion Bill.[1] At this time only 37,000 persons were receiving poor-law relief, though, according to the report of the Government Commissioners, more than 2,300,000 persons were in a state of destitution!

The *Tablet* declared that nothing was to be got out of the British Parliament except by obstructing it, and refusing to give it a moment's peace till it consented to do justice. "There are two kinds of justice—active, which takes the trouble to pierce into the heart and truth of the matter, and

[1] The *Tablet* applauded the obstruction (Factiousness was the term at that time). It said, "The reason of the delay in preparing for the famine was, that English politicians could not agree about an *English* question, and therefore *Ireland* had to submit to the extremity of famine while they were patching up their blundering and dishonest politics." And this (minus the dishonesty) was admitted by Sir James Graham in a speech on the 24th April.

then works heaven and earth till right be done; and passive, or vulgar, justice—which is too indolent, too indifferent, and too occupied to go out of its way to comprehend and accomplish what is difficult in the paths of justice. It must be roused, battered, and driven into action. Now! You that speak of English feeling, of equity towards Ireland, of what nature is it?

"Is any one mad enough to say, or fool enough to believe, that in any fraction of the English people there exists a feeling for Ireland that would work, or agitate, or encounter a single difficulty for justice' sake? Is there even a trace of that chivalrous sentiment on her behalf that was excited for West Indian negroes? No; all that is meant is, that there is a general spirit of fair play, which is beginning to think that the Irish, after all, got more kicking than they deserved. For the rank injustice, active and permissive, of the past, the effects of which are staining Ireland at this day, her people get—not ample reparation and deep contrition, but they have the epithet of 'ruffians' changed into 'poor devils.' How far this 'poor devil' feeling will bestir itself in their behalf, let the present Coercion Bill testify. . . . We are rejoiced to see the *Times* becoming abusive of the Irish members. We are rejoiced to see that the latter have succeeded in throwing a dam across the stream of English business in their opposition to English tyranny."

As to the particular Bill, Lucas makes a remark

which will bear reproducing. Sir James Graham had appealed to a recognised old English law in vindication of clauses which made a district or neighbourhood responsible for the crime committed in it.

"He is in the right," says Lucas, "to do so. But let him take the entire spirit and principle of the law, and if he applies it fairly, we believe there are very few reasonable men who would be inclined to quarrel with him. The principle of that law is, that the district or hundred is chargeable only for crimes which it could reasonably be supposed able to prevent, or the perpetrators of which it has suffered to escape through neglect. Thus, the old law-books tell us that 'for a robbery committed in the night the Hundred is not chargeable, because they cannot be presumed to have notice thereof, so as to be able to apprehend the robbers.' We quote this law *not for the details, but for the principle;* the details are purely technical and of little importance, but the principle which it recognises, the sense of justice that breathes through it, the profound equity upon which it is based, are of the highest moment."

There was one way of evading that equity and quieting the conscience, and that is, by "poisoning the wells;" by asserting that the whole nation outside the class of landlords and their friends were either actual murderers or ready to connive at murder. This plan was adopted then and since, and it has worked effectively.

How the application of the old principle was possible at that precise moment, the *Tablet* did not take on itself to decide. But it was clear, said the editor, that if the "people of a district were to be made responsible for crimes committed within it, they should also have the power of dealing with the remote causes, which, by a necessary consequence, lead to crime. But to say, as the law says, or proposes to say, 'The Legislature shall keep you with one hand under the law of famine, by upholding landlords who starve you, and by refusing to give you relief under the pressure of starvation; and on the other hand, shall make the district so disorganised by this abominable and tyrannic legislation, liable to be amerced for the consequences of crimes which such legislation inevitably produces'—to say this appears to us the most monstrous injustice."

Before the end of 1846 a second failure of the potato crop occurred, far more complete than that of the previous season. The early crop had been wholly lost. Nevertheless the Government of Lord John Russell (which had followed that of Sir Robert Peel, who had had to retire after the repeal of the Corn Laws), while admitting the beneficial relief afforded by the late Administration, were of opinion that, though good as a temporary measure, it would, if allowed to become permanent, be an evil of great magnitude. Government had therefore determined to stop the supplies after the 15th August.

Before this date arrived, the Whigs brought in their first measure of relief in the shape of the continuance of an Arms Act, then about to expire. It was only one shade better than Peel's abandoned Coercion Bill. "A short discussion afforded evidence of the incurable stupidity of the Whigs," who had, after all, to withdraw the Bill, and "who might have increased their popularity and afforded an earnest of sincerity by giving it up at once, instead of doing so under pressure and with a bad grace."

But it was not Coercion or Arms Bills that were wanted. It was some plan to render Ireland independent of relief. Last year Sir Robert Peel had encountered the evil by a temporary arrangement, which sufficed for the time. But after all, the remedy should be a far-seeing one. It was therefore with pleasure Lucas saw proposed a system of public works. Money was to be advanced for such works to the most impoverished districts, and to the extent of £50,000 in the way of grants, not loans; and more on loan, as we shall see directly.

But though Lucas approved the Bill so far as these provisions were concerned, there were other portions which he could in nowise countenance. For example, the carrying on of public works under Government, instead of under county officers, he considered thoroughly bad in principle, even if unobjectionable as a temporary expedient. Again, to confer on the barony a sweeping power of

taxation, without giving the ratepayers any control over either the voting or the expenditure of the funds, was only an extension of the "abominable grand jury laws." Still, considering this as a first essay, struck up at a heat to meet a pressing necessity, he was not disposed to be too critical.

The falsity of the Whig notion, about which Lucas had written strongly in his above-mentioned articles on political economy, received here an exemplification on a large scale. It was said that the public works (undertaken out of charity) led men to leave work at higher wages for the public work at lower, because they could work less; that this again made the public employers reduce their wages still lower, and then the men would not give the value of even the lower wages. Lord John dwelt on the "work given by way of charity." Lucas regarded the distinction as wholly unfounded; it was a matter of management; the workman did not stop to consider the motive. All that was wanted was to make the giving of work dependent upon its being honestly and fairly done. Again, Lord John considered it of evil consequence to give permanent work at home; that the Irish were thereby prevented from coming here to help reap our harvests. They should be kept so poor as to oblige them to come over to England. English wages required to be kept at a low rate, and this could only be managed by Irish competition. "Of course," says Lucas, "we don't charge his Lordship with intentional

inhumanity; but really the mode of thought inspired by our economic literature is so inhuman in its nature, that the mind which adopts its logic becomes tainted, and hardened, and defiled beyond the possibility of cure."

How this extravagant application of the supply and demand doctrine turned out we shall see. Meantime Lucas, as was his wont, regarded the famine in both a religious and a philosophic light. He remarked that the most sceptical person could hardly remove from his mind the impression that the Almighty does really interfere in the direction of human affairs; that the concurrence of a number of extraordinary events leading to some great end, and helping on a social change or catastrophe which otherwise could hardly be accomplished, must turn men's thoughts to the Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe, and drive them to acknowledge His presence where otherwise they would be slow to perceive it. The *Tablet* was not the place to enter minutely into the philosophy of this Providence. Still he suggests some considerations which are well worthy of reproduction.

He says that "when God designs some great change in the affairs of the world, He ushers it in by a combination of afflictions, which, as with a rod of iron, drive men from their accustomed path, and compel them to launch upon untried seas; and thus, when the time had come at which, after centuries of barbarism and barrenness, the

Eternal Ruler had decreed that the wilds of North America should be cultivated by a new race, and covered with populous and thriving cities, He had for long centuries before been nursing up, and moulding, and hardening, and strengthening for their great task a remote island in Europe, He brought together, strangely enough, two calamities in appearance wholly unconnected, but which fitted into one another so as to give birth to one of the most remarkable events of modern times.

"All attempts to colonise North America for more than a hundred years had failed. Hardships, climate, ill-management, mutual disagreements, the hostility of the native Indians had all been fatal. Then came two scourges, one on each side of the Atlantic, which fitted into each other with the nicest calculation. The first was the religious persecution of the Puritans, which drove one Mr. Robinson and his Church from England to Holland. But America was not yet ready for them; and they had to wait in Holland from 1608 to 1620. In 1617 their sufferings made them think of crossing the Atlantic, and about the same time the second scourge began in a pestilence which in three years completely depopulated a district of New England. Hither they came, but not intentionally. They made for the Hudson River, where the Indians were strong, and would certainly have cut them off. But stress of weather forced them on a coast which Heaven

had cleared for them by pestilence, and thus gave a beginning to the dominion of the Anglo-Saxon race over three-fourths of that huge continent.

"So in Ireland, after habitual famines, annual starvation, and misery had become the apparently unalterable destiny of millions, the hearts of our rulers were turned, the greatest stronghold of bigotry was struck down in Emancipation, and a favourable opportunity presented itself for some measures of permanent relief. But there was a doubt whether the indolence of man would allow him to turn the opportunity to account. Then came the famine, and by this unparalleled infliction the Almighty has rendered it impossible for us to avert heart, eyes, or hand from the task He has given us to do."

Such was his view of the lesson before English statesmen and the work they were called upon to do. He cries out loudly for bold measures. The Minister would be mad who dreamt of encountering with any superficial half-measures the storm that lowered from the West.

A Labour Rate Act of unlimited application was passed. It allowed any person in any district where distress really prevailed to apply to the Lord Lieutenant for a loan of money to be used on public works, such money to be secured upon the land. The Lord Lieutenant was then to issue a proclamation calling together the ratepayers, who should present the works they deemed advisable, and the Board of Works was

at once to draw on the Treasury for the amount. There was to be no limit; one Gazette, as O'Connell said, contained fourteen of these proclamations. He had seen many proclamations against the people, but this was the very first he had ever seen in their favour. But should the ratepayers refuse or neglect to set the works on foot, then the Board of Works were to proceed without them. The people were to be fed. O'Connell calculated that twelve or thirteen millions—the whole agricultural rental of Ireland—would be required for this purpose.

So far good. But more was wanted, namely, to provide for the permanent well-being of the people by taking under Government control the untilled soil of Ireland, and making it supply the necessities of unfilled mouths. The third requirement was, in Lucas's eyes, the creating of confidence in the good intentions of the Government by the introduction of political reforms.

But before the end of September the famine was upon the people; no presentments could be in time, and the corn produced in the country was being exported to England. Riots occurred throughout the South. In County Waterford the people, but for the soldiers, would have torn one landlord to pieces. He had subscribed five pounds (!) towards the relief, and at the sessions had carried a resolution to pay only tenpence a day wages. He had to fly for his life.

The *Tablet* says, "The accounts which every

mail brings of the famine, the most entire blight which for hundreds of years has been known in any considerable quarter of Europe, make the heart sink and sicken under the consideration of it. The rich are called on to relieve the poor; but who are the rich? the poor tenant whose crop has failed, or the poor landlord whose rent has broken down under the failure?"

Sir Robert Peel, as we saw, had provided food; now, with his advice, supplies were to be left entirely to the "mercantile classes." Against this Lucas protested vehemently. "To leave supplies of food to private enterprise, in the present condition of affairs, is," he said, "little better than madness. We are glad, indeed, to remember that the Government has kept the door open for the employment of its commissariat in extreme cases, but we are quite sure that the greater part of Ireland is one huge 'extreme case,' and that they will be trifling most awfully with their responsibilities, if they do not take care that nothing is left to chance which may be needed for the supply and remedy of the present and coming distress.

"The ordinary maxims of trade have nothing to do here. Even the prince of Irish economists, Lord Mounteagle, is beaten out of his political economy for once, and, Whig though he be, will blaspheme his M'Culloch (or whatever other mud deity he swears by) rather than recur to his aid in the present extremity."

And again and again Lucas urged on Lord John Russell to throw aside his non-interference with the routine of commerce, his duty being to provide the people with food.

"Two things are necessary," he insisted, "present food, to be earned by labour, and crops for the years to come. These two problems seem to dovetail into each other so nicely, that the first instinct of every mind must have been to make the same process solve them both. The natural course would be to lay in supplies of food, and make the labour which should earn it a labour directed to the production of crops next year and the year after. (For in very many places there was no seed.) But no; this method of procedure was too simple, too practical, to find favour. Accordingly, the first thought was to find no food, and the second to make the labour by which wages should be earned be of a kind that could not by any possibility add to next year's crop."

O'Connell had suggested a meeting of landlords in Dublin; the idea had taken hold, and a meeting was held on 10th October, and the movement appeared likely to become a reality. Fear became a potent exorcist, and the "Devil of political economy," with which the Whigs seemed incurably possessed, was cast out; at least some of the legion. It was determined that the labour rate should be extended to productive works.[1]

[1] This was but a flash in the pan. Two months later the discovery seemed to be as new as in October.

For the question arose, "What permanent benefit was the labourer to receive from draining, subsoiling, and reclaiming bog? Was he to have any control over the crop that his industry should rear, or was the whole to go to the landlord?" Hitherto increase of production had meant larger exportation, higher rents, increasing destitution. Most certainly, if this order were to continue, if the only result were to be improved cultivation, without securing an improved condition of the labourer, the Government would have been (unintentionally, no doubt) guilty of a grievous crime against Ireland. "And here see," remarked the *Tablet*, "how their abominable economic theories stand in the way of all manful endeavours to get thoroughly to the bottom of the question. Happily they have got over their theory of 'productive labour.' But they have two others more pernicious still. The first, that it is unphilosophical to interfere with the natural course of an import trade, which does not exist. (Ireland was exporting oats all this while.) This theory, we have hopes, not, alas! unmixed with fears, that they will ere many weeks see the folly of, and renounce for ever.

"Their second theory is worse even than the first. It is that it would be extremely unphilosophical to interfere, even indirectly, with the bargains made between the labourer and the employer, or tenant and landlord, in the matter of rent and wages. There is, they say, a natural

rent and a natural amount of wages with which you must by no means interfere. Accordingly, when they agree to a system of public works, wages having been long close upon starvation point, and the price of food rising every day, they determine that the wages to be paid shall be below the natural level, below the current rate, that is, below starvation-point. It is not their business, they say, to raise wages. Their theory is to fix the scale of relief so low as not to interfere with the full liberty of bargaining either in rent or wages. On this principle, while they are fixing the rate of wages disreputably low, they are not likely to give much consideration to the question of how to improve the condition of the tenant.

"But surely a wise Government would regard the existence of five million acres of waste land as a treasure of which they are possessed in trust for the poor. So long as it lies waste they can enforce its culture on equitable terms, they can make equitable terms with the legal owner for the benefit of the poor. But once give legal facilities for improvement without making stipulations for the poor, and they have parted irrevocably with a great engine of good, and have rendered the problem before them well-nigh hopeless of solution."

As usual the Government did let slip the opportunity, "in their affection for their rotten formulas." It was not till 1880 that "obstruc-

tion," as it is called, in the House of Commons, and the Land League in Ireland "battered" this stupid inhuman theory out of their heads. I do not know which feeling prevailed most in Lucas's mind, hatred or contempt, for the politico-economical principles of the Manchester School. Both feelings with him were as strong as a man of his calibre could possibly entertain.

Before the end of October deaths from starvation occurred. Men worked for Government and could not get their wages paid. One such creditor, after working a fortnight without pay, died of starvation. And Lucas commented on the "callous, cold-hearted apathy of the minor officials," crying out that "neither the sacrifice of human life, to which their delay was accessory, nor the example of their superiors could inspire them."

The famine continued to augment, food riots, combinations against landlords, refusals to pay rent, frightful tales of individual destitution filled the papers. Nevertheless, "still the same tardiness to encounter the gigantic event; still the same refusal to send supplies to those inland districts which ordinary speculation could not reach with any degree of effectiveness; still the same staunch adherence to the old cold, hard maxims of a false economic science."

It was said, and even believed, when first the distress began, that, lamentable as it was, it would be the means of maintaining the Union, by

affording England an opportunity of showing her good-will and beneficence.

"But how a few months belied the anticipation!" It is true that by the middle of November 150,000 persons were employed on the public works, but in many instances the poor creatures had to walk from three to six Irish miles to their work of road-making for wages of 6d. to 8d. a day, and no two of a family allowed to be employed on the same works. There was nothing in all this to cement the Union; and to add to the difficulty, while English writers were advocating the cultivation of waste lands by peasant proprietors, the idea encountered the almost unanimous hostility of the landlords; and as for the Government, they "shut out every hope, offered no guidance, led the people nowhere, or rather led the landlords from difficulty to ruin, and the tenant from despair into hopes that were utterly reasonless."

The public works of a non-productive kind drew the labourers, who despaired of another harvest, away from agricultural pursuits to "break stones on impossible roads;" mortgagees were foreclosing to such an extent that 1200 notices were lodged in the Four Courts in a few months; deaths from starvation were becoming more numerous; works were stopped for want of money from the Board; in Skibbereen workhouse eighty-seven deaths occurred in November, and five more on 1st December, till there remained

scarcely enough able-bodied paupers alive to bury the dead; and so the year drew to a close.

"At length," says Lucas, "it is discovered that reproductive works must be substituted for unproductive. At length! after six months of reckless and stupid waste, after six months in which labour was possible, in which bad labour has been deliberately chosen, wisdom comes to our rulers with the frost; and when the earth has become hide-bound and hard as iron, it is discovered that a new method must be adopted and some surer course devised when God visits the earth with the smiles of spring." The Government had been warned often enough, and certainly Lucas had not been remiss. But what could one man do, even with a great newspaper at his command?

CHAPTER XVIII.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE STARVING—A LAY SERMON.

THE state of affairs sketched in the last chapter was clearly calculated to wring every thinking heart and to make serious men reflect on their own relation to the Irish people. How Lucas regarded the whole matter is testified in the following article, which I transcribe entire as it stands. It appeared the day after Christmas 1846, and runs as follows :—

"It is impossible to think or write of the events of this week without thinking and writing of the greatest day in it; without thinking and writing of the lessons contained in the great events which that day commemorates; without turning back in thought eighteen centuries and a half, and picturing to ourselves God, the Author of this creation, born into the world in poverty and nakedness, and cold and houselessness, an outcast and a stranger, making His first slumbers among the lowing of cattle at this bleak, inclement, inhospitable season of the year; without connecting in thought this scene of comfortlessness with those terrible calamities which at this same season, after a lapse of centuries, afflict the

poor of Christ, those of whom His divine lips have declared that in neglecting their miseries we neglect Him, and that in succouring their distress we give Him relief.

"O God! how many born to the image of their Maker, and dear to Him who made them from the very poverty of their condition, are this day famished and naked, cold and houseless, and ready to render up their souls to death! We read these things in the papers, but it is to be feared they make a very slight impression on us. If our Blessed Lord were here on earth again, and we knew that He lay in destitution somewhere within our reach, should we care to relieve His sufferings? We fancy that we should, and spurn from us as an evil thought the notion that we could endure to see Him suffer or hear of His sufferings without doing our part to alleviate them. And yet this very case of hard-heartedness is ours. In Ireland, at this moment, Christ suffers many deaths by famine, and endures the agonies of the most pinching want, but we put forth no hand to help Him. The bitter blast which on the great day of the Nativity made Him shiver, blows now in Skibbereen, in Bantry, in Macroom, in the far West, in the North, in the East, in the Midst, and the members of Christ tremble beneath its biting rigour, while, famished and foodless, they ask for the food which we make no effort to bestow. In how many hundred or thousand Irish cabins, more squalid than

that beast-stall in Jewry, is Christ now perishing for want! In how many thousand huts do the souls of His poor now cleave to the dust in unutterable sorrow! Around us, about us, these things take place; the sound of them is noised in our ears; it makes a brief subject of discourse; it adds to our stock of gossip; we utter mock sighs and skin-deep lamentations, in which the heart has no part, and we turn off to talk about fat cattle, or the new planet, or the price of stocks, or the railways, or the theatres, or the ball-room, or the fashions. Meanwhile the blood of our brethren is on our heads, and the voice of God Himself pierces through the dense covering of our selfish indifference, and in tones which, if we heard aright, would sound like the thunder of a coming judgment, exclaims against us, 'Ye hypocrites!' And what is our answer to this impeachment, which we must answer unless religion be a lie? To do us justice, we have a scriptural warrant for the answer that we give. Under one form or another, we borrow the words of Adam's eldest-born, and, with pretended innocence ejaculate, 'Am I my brother's keeper?'

"Yes, we are the keepers of our brethren. God has appointed us to keep watch one over another, and has bound us together as by chains of adamant by the obligations of charity. The feeling of charity doubtless is a great bond; the natural affection which humanity spontaneously develops links men without much effort; there are kindly and

generous emotions in the human heart which it is luxury to indulge, and the indulgence of which rewards itself by the *natural* pleasure which it engenders. But to supply the defect of these sentiments, to fill up the gaps left by selfishness, to stimulate and corroborate these fitful natural impulses into a regularity of action that never intermits; to convert the service of our neighbour into an act of worship to God, there overrides us that sublime law of Heaven which makes charity a duty even when it may be nauseous and revolting to the natural sense, and which, while it invites us to do much that is not of compulsion, fastens on us with the stern gripe of a severe necessity, and, under the penalty of hell, scourges us to certain appointed tasks.

"Under the penalty of hell! think well of it! and let every man reckon up with his own conscience for the deaths by starvation that are daily occurring. When we reflect upon it, the thought makes us shudder at our own personal responsibilities, which we have no wish to evade by practising mock charity at the expense of our neighbours. What have we done to alleviate the distress—we speak not of any private pecuniary contribution—but what have we done through this public organ (for the use, or abuse, or no use of which God holds us strictly accountable)? What have we done to awaken others to a sense of their duty, and to proclaim the moral exigencies of this terrible calamity? What have we done?

Alas! nothing, or next to nothing. While our neighbour has been perishing we have been eating, and drinking, and sleeping, as if this world was to last for ever; we have been writing about miserable personal squabbles and political manœuvres, and we have spoken languidly and sparingly about the famine, as if the deaths of so many of Christ's brethren were of no concern to us.

"And you too, reader, whom we were bound to warn, but who were bound to act with or without our warning—what has been your course? Have you nothing to repent of? Have you done your duty? Have you given according to your means? Have you—while in the last spasms of tortured and exhausted nature better Christians than yourself sink into the embraces of their merciful God and your future Judge—have you taken the pains to inquire of those who are appointed to be your teachers what are your duties towards these children of the Great Parent of us all?

"If anything commensurate with the occasion has been done by the Catholics of England, we protest our ignorance of it. Possibly our charity has been so exquisitely mingled with humility, that we have not let our right hand know what our left has been doing. Possibly we have exceeded the requirements of our religion, and have earned merit with God by accomplishing more than our appointed task. We wish we could bring ourselves to believe that this is the case. In a few chapels the Rev. Dr. Smyth of Esker

has raised his eloquent voice, and extracted from our purses some reluctant coins, and there are doubtless other exceptions; but, on the whole, it hardly admits of dispute that while the Catholic code of morality has called upon us to be lavish of the luxuries and comforts of our daily life to supply the extreme necessity of those who at least know nothing about luxury and little about comfort, from whom life itself is now swiftly ebbing, our practice has been to look on with a stupid, careless, thoughtless indifference, and allow 'proud Death, As if some feast were toward in his eternal cell,' to ravage unresisted among the flock and fold of the Redeemer.

"Really the indifference displayed on every side makes us ashamed of our Catholic countrymen—ashamed of ourselves. What! It is our especial boast that works of charity are the prerogative of the Faith, and that in every age the Church has made known its divine mission by the deeds of mercy it has done. We point to the memorials of former times, to the munificent foundations, the almshouses, the hospitals, the lazar-houses, the monks, the nuns, the laymen and laywomen who have devoted life and substance to the service of their fellows. We live in the vanity of the past. We become bloated with pride through the recollection of the great things accomplished by better Christians than ourselves. But when the present hour shakes before our eyes a ghastly spectacle of woe, there is no sense within us

wrung by the terrible and instant calamity; we fold our hands in pharisaical content and address ourselves again to sleep. Others are awake and labouring in our harvest. Generally, indeed, we have but slavishly copied the stony frigidity of the people about us; their apathy has been the model of our irreligion. But among those who belong not to the one fold, there have been some awake to the duties of Christianity, some not absolutely blind to the ordinary instincts of our nature. In this tremendous and sweeping affliction, the Quakers—the Society of Friends—have borrowed from the Catholics of other days an example which we ought to be ashamed not to follow. They—and we almost say they only—have behaved like Christians, have displayed a practical understanding of one of the essential requirements of Christianity, have exerted themselves on something like a great scale to relieve the wants of the destitute in proportion to their means. We have, in short, refused to stir in the cause; and while we affect to adore Christ present on our altars and to commemorate the poverty and affliction of His birth, the hardness of our hearts allows us to remain unmoved by the presence of a National Christmas Famine."

The effect of this appeal we shall see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

EFFECT OF THE LAY SERMON—THE FAMINE CONTINUED—GOVERNMENT MEASURES ABORTIVE—NEW POOR-LAW—FAST PROCLAIMED—DEATH OF O'CONNELL.

THE new year opened as the dying year closed. Deaths were proceeding at a prodigious rate. The effect of the *Tablet's* appeal to the Catholics of Great Britain for pecuniary aid was instantaneous. Within a week subscriptions were set on foot in various places. Soon the movement spread all over the country. Letters with remittances poured in, and the editor, besides his unceasing efforts to force the Government into action, had enough to do in replying to correspondents, both givers and receivers. Men in debt, and known to be so by the lenders, borrowed money to contribute, apologising for the smallness of their offerings, and those with more means at their disposal were not less forward. On the other hand, expressions of gratitude for sums trifling in comparison with the magnitude of the distress were numberless, and in very many instances touching in the extreme.

The *Times* threw cold water on the idea of a national subscription, on the ground that all should

be left to Government. Private subscriptions, that journal argued, tend to draw off public interest and support from the national councils and the national organs. "Think of the state and her statesmen in this perilous juncture!" According to this luminary, "when people are to be rescued from starvation, it won't do to have two strings to your bow. For a great crisis, simplicity of method is necessary. Afford the state all the self-sacrifice it may require, but do not squander these on a private committee." Lucas was beyond measure indignant at this article, and he ridiculed the writer in some fine sarcasm.

"Here is a man who hears of the deaths in Skibbereen, let us say—fifteen funerals in a day, and unburied corpses eaten by the rats! This he hears of—What shall he do? He is willing to pay any extra tax, but he can do more than that, and is willing to do so. Shall he do it? Shall he send his ten shillings across the Channel? If not, what *shall* he do to save the lives that are hourly ebbing away? He looks in the *Times*, and finds all his doubts and difficulties answered after a fashion. He is told not only what not to do, but what to do. For the first part, he is *not* to part with his cash. For the second, he is to confine himself to a purely mental act. He is not to pray; for that would be to invoke external help. To pray would be to beg God's interference, and thus to mar the unity of the Empire by calling in aid that is purely gratuitous, intrusive, and super-

fluous! No! he is neither to pray, to speak, nor to give. He is simply to *think*. Not of the poor, not of the famished, not of the groans and agonies of the dying is he to think. He is to 'think of the state;' to 'think of the statesmen;' to make a morning meditation on Lord John Russell, and an evening one on Mr. Labouchere; to *dwell upon* Mr. Trevelyan; to *wish* that the people may get fed; to invert the Apostolic rule, and say to the poor, 'Go in peace, be ye warmed and filled, but to give not those things that are necessary for the body.' Why, this writer is worse than Peter Pounce in 'Joseph Andrews.' 'Sir,' said Adams, 'my definition of charity is a generous disposition to relieve the distressed.' 'There is something in that definition,' said Peter, 'which I like well enough: it is, as you say, a disposition, and does not consist so much in the act as in the disposition to do it.' This may be all very well for a Protestant journal, whose God is a poor-law of the proper cut, but we do not see how these notions can be adopted by a Catholic, unless he abjures the faith and makes himself worse than an infidel."

The famine was scarcely past its beginning; six or seven months of greater and greater dearth were before the people. The landlords had hitherto done something to relieve the poor; but now, in the first week of the year, the *Freeman's Journal* announced that the process of extermination had begun in wholesale fashion. The potato culti-

vation could pay no rent, but cattle and sheep-rearing could, and smart rents too. Let the people go, and bring in beasts instead. In the County of Mayo, one proprietor alone had already served more than six hundred processes. Some landlords, having induced their tenants to give notes of hand for their rents, used them as a more summary and less obnoxious method of exterminating the wretched starving creatures. Early in January the *Roscommon Journal* announced that "the number of civil bills served by landlords for the approaching session in this town will treble those ever sent out for the last ten years." At Ballina, in the same month, between five and six thousand processes and ejectments together were served; in Castlebar, sixteen hundred processes besides ejectments; and so on from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear. Catholic landlords were as bad as Protestant; Burkes and Brownes vied with Gores and Knoxes. In a speech in Conciliation Hall, O'Connell read a letter from Cork, which gave the Protestant clergy return of the deaths in that Deanery; 5000 were dead of starvation, and 10,000 actually dying. In the village of Glann, County Galway, an entire family of ten persons was found dead in one heap of putrefaction.

Before long the people were dying on the roadsides, in their cabins, and in the workhouses, literally by tens of thousands, and clearances were proceeding concurrently at the same rate. I think

no pen can describe the horrors of that spring. Mine is certainly all too incapable. The sufferings and patience of the people on one side, and the cold-blooded inhumanity of the landlords on the other, are quite beyond my power to depict.[1] What the Government did and left undone we shall see. In this state of things the Vicar-Apostolic of the London district ordered an immediate collection in all the churches of the diocese. The first week realised nearly £1400, besides subscriptions from every part of the country. Dr. Briggs of York made a powerful appeal in a pastoral, and received considerable sums from his Northern friends. While, incredible as it may seem, the Board of Works in County Cork, with bread at 2½d. a pound, passed a resolution to pay only 6d. a day subsistence-money for work upon useless roads. The *Cork Reporter* exclaimed, "This is a system of starvation on a wholesale principle."

In the first parliamentary debate it was demonstrated beyond contradiction that every step taken by Lord John Russell's Government was at least a blunder. They had employed 470,000 persons at inadequate wages on public works that nobody wanted, with the effect of drawing the population from the cultivation of the land, and so securing a repetition of the famine next year. Sir Robert Peel told the House that in this business 10,000

[1] The best and most graphic account of the famine and the clearances that has come under my notice is that by Mr. T. P. O'Connor in his "Parnell Movement."

paid clerks were employed; and he expressed his opinion, which in the result proved to be a sound one, namely, that "if the public works themselves were not beneficial, Ministers were inflicting the greatest curse on the country—they were inflicting public ruin." Lord John Russell admitted the abuses, which indeed were undeniable.

With their eyes open, and knowing that the Navigation Laws prevented corn from being imported in foreign bottoms, and, by consequence, directed supplies to France, where every obstruction was being removed—with these facts before them, Ministers simply stood still. "It was," said the *Tablet*, "the imperative duty of the Government either to purchase corn, as Sir Robert Peel's Government did last year; or, if it seemed better to rely on private enterprise, to afford every encouragement and facility to mercantile speculation. *The present Government distinctly refused to adopt either course.* They did not themselves import corn, and they deliberately discouraged importation by others. Fearing to discourage private enterprise by going into the foreign markets as buyers, they persisted, nevertheless, in shackling private enterprise, and keeping out corn which private enterprise, unshackled, would have landed in our ports. But, all the while, in direct violation of their own principles, they were purchasing corn in London, Liverpool, and other home markets; whereas, according to

them, it would be the height of impolicy to buy abroad!"

Meantime, if they were idle, those who traded on the distress in order to pervert the poor Catholics were by no means idle. A certain Mr. Richards, a parson, of Ashbourne in Derbyshire, appealed in the *Derbyshire Advertiser* for funds to be used for this purpose. The letter was published in the *Tablet*, together with some comments, not on that letter only, but on a congruous fact, which is thus reported:—

"We have heard on good authority that £1400, said to have been collected in Rev. Baptist Noel's chapel, has been sent to Ireland for this same fiendish purpose. It was originally proposed, we are told, to devote half of the collection to charity, and only half to the Devil; but a worse suggestion prevailed—a present has been made of the entire sum to the Prince of Hell. The whole £1400 is to be devoted to the perversion of poor starving wretches, who can be converted only by purchase.

"We can give our readers the particulars of a case just now in full operation in Dingle. As soon as the famine set in with all its horrors, a sufficient number of teachers to meet the case was dispatched to Dingle to torment the souls of those whose bodies hunger was consuming in fearful agony. They were not particular about creed; all they wanted was to procure apostasy *from* the Catholic Church *to* anything else. In

the Bible-schools, soup, bread, and meat are distributed three times a day, while those who resolutely keep themselves from the Satanic instruction which England furnishes are left to perish with hunger. O God! when will punishment descend upon these tormentors and destroyers of souls?"

These people got the name of "Soupers;" they continued their nefarious practices for many years, with the result that the poor people came to hate the very sight of the pretended philanthropists.

On the 25th of January Lord John Russell brought in several Bills, both of a temporary and a permanent character. Among the first, was a scheme for the establishment of soup-kitchens in various districts, and another for giving outdoor relief, not only to the infirm and sick, but to the able-bodied who could find no work. Among the second, was a Bill for the reclamation of waste lands, of which there were 4,600,000 acres capable of cultivation; and a Bill for advancing money to landlords to enable them to improve their properties. These Bills were all received with satisfaction even by the Irish members. O'Connell's days were drawing to a close, and when on the 8th of February he spoke on the subject, his voice was almost inaudible. His observations were those of a man dead-beat. The calamity overwhelmed him; he was willing to give the Government power to do almost anything so long as they would but feed the people, of whom,

he said, 25 per cent. were in danger of actual starvation. He proposed the appointment of a Commission to act at once. He did not care from which side of the House the members were taken, if they would but save the poor. It was the last speech he ever made. Had he been twenty years younger, he might perhaps have forced the Government to take reasonable steps; but his vigour had been waning for many months. Of other Irish members, there was not one with a practical notion in his head, or ability to enforce one if he had it. The whole parliamentary party had got into the hands of the Whigs. Up to this time, however, there were no signs of the corruption which was developed five years later with such fatal effect.

Lord George Bentinck proposed a loan of £16,000,000 for the construction of railways. But the making of railroads would not produce food; and the people seeing that, however good the crops, the landlords would take all for arrears of rent, refused to cultivate. Never was there such a complete paralysis all round. The debate on Lord George Bentinck's Bill ended in a large majority for the Government. The *Tablet* observed :—

"It has been decided that want of food shall not be supplied by a crop of iron rails, and that while, on the one hand, the Irish shall not be allowed to starve, the expense necessary to save them from starvation is, from financial considera-

tions, by no means to be incurred. . . . Some of the Irish members support this scheme on its merits; some support it because no other is offered; some oppose it in order to keep the Ministry in their places; but none show the possibility of doing anything better. The Irish members originated nothing."

The fact, as far as I can make out, was that, with the exception of Lucas, no public man whatever knew what to do. On the 22nd of February the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in his Budget. He proposed to raise eight millions on Exchequer bills. This was to be expended simply in the distribution of food indiscriminately, to old and young, men and women, sick and sound, able-bodied and infirm. And a further million and a half was to be advanced to the landlords on security in the course of three years for improving their lands. The *Tablet* remarked, "Half a million of profitable outlay to eight millions of *un*profitable is like Falstaff's halfpenny worth of bread to two gallons of sack."

Lucas was taken to task for vague and barren declamation against the Ministerial devices, and he was asked for some practical suggestions. He replied:—

"We want more bread and less sack; more thrift and less waste; more money laid out in the improvement of estates, and by consequence less money given in unprofitable and thriftless charity." He would begin by reversing the

order of the Government proceedings; he would employ labour in cultivating the land, in furnishing employment to as many as could profitably be employed on the land. "It is time enough to throw away money without a return when you find no return is to be had for your money. Why has not the Government acted on so patent a truism?

"We answer, they have not done so without a motive. They are averse 'to afford employment to the labouring classes' by loans for 'the improvement of landed property.' To do so sins against their divine mistress, Political Economy. It is contrary to their system; and though they call their Bill by the fine name of a 'Bill for the Improvement of Landed Property by Loans to the Owners thereof,' the title is nothing better than a cheat. The main object of the Bill is not what it pretends to be, and what it might have been, the employment of labour and the improvement of the land; it is simply intended as a bribe to the landlords to pass another Bill for giving outdoor relief to able-bodied poor. It is not a National Bill nor a People's Bill; it is a Landlords' Bill; a bribe to that needy, greedy, and conscienceless class to induce them to assume for the first time one out of the many duties of their state. It is a bill to conciliate and bribe the landlords into at least fractional honesty.

"There can be no plainer dictate of common sense than this, that the landlords who, by their inordinate selfishness, greediness, obstinacy, stu-

pidity, and hard-heartedness, have created the present awful famine, have no right to take advantage of the famine for their own profit; have no right to ask or to receive a single shilling out of the public treasury without giving the fullest security in their power against a recurrence of the evil. Having brought Ireland to the verge of revolution by their crimes, they can be trusted no longer; and no Government but a weak, a foolish, or a dishonest one would think of advancing them one sixpence without exacting the amplest security, not merely for the repayment of the cash, *but for the protection of the tenant class, which they have hitherto doomed to death by slow murder.*"

The Bill contained no security whatever for the tenant from beginning to end; on the contrary, there was nothing under its provisions to prevent the extermination of the tenants and laying down the land in pasture. The Commissioners had power to raise the rent on improved estates at their absolute discretion, and this augmented rent was part of a remedial measure for the terrible famine; while in some districts, round Skibbereen, for example, the people were already charged £4, 10s. per acre for land which in England would not be worth more than 10s. So the Chairman of the Board of Works had written to the Treasury in the previous December. Lucas would lend money to the landlord "on condition of his ceasing to be a thief and a swindler, and giving

security in the way of a lease with equitable covenants that for at least twenty or thirty years he will not be a thief again." He would bind him "against ejectment of tenants; or, if the holdings were too small and required consolidation, then the landlord should be bound to give the tenants employment on the estate, or they should be located on waste lands by Government aid; or, failing that, the landlords, that is, the ratepayers —absentees being assessed double—should be bound to keep them as poor of the parish. Had this or something of the sort been done last November, the land would have been sown, and on the way towards a steady and effective improvement this year."

A grant of £50,000 had been promised for the purchase of seed; just enough for one county. People had been hoping for grants of seed-corn or loans to purchase it, when all at once, at the end of February, Ministers changed their minds, and determined to spend the miserable sum in turnips, peas, and beans!!

Lucas ridiculed the bare idea of Ministers and members of Parliament hoping, believing, and trusting in any improvement on the part of the landlords unless upon compulsion.

"There is always a *locus pœnitentiæ* for individuals; institutions that have fallen into transient disorder may resume their pristine health; classes of men whom an occasional laxity of practice has disgraced may retrieve their honour.

and position; but a class so thoroughly corrupted and diseased as the Irish landlords, so full of bad qualities, so empty of all good ones, thriftless extortioners, mean and proud, profuse and avaricious, incapable and arrogant, worldly and yet not worldly-wise, careless about their own faith and yet hating that of their neighbours, with not one principle of order in their composition, the spawn of chaos and night, thoughtless, reckless, hopeless, helpless—if they are susceptible of reformation, we may live to see the Devil kneeling at the footstool of God. They are utterly incorrigible.

"What a notion those men must have of the uses and dignity of an aristocracy who think this race worth preserving! We have no democratic tendencies, thank God; no aversion or dislike to hereditary and aristocratic institutions. On the contrary, we reverence and admire an aristocracy grounded on real services. We would not look too narrowly into exceptional defects. A great power resides in such bodies when well constituted. If on the whole they work well, let them be honoured and preserved; but if evil, words cannot express the curse they are to the people that bend beneath their yoke.

"If Ireland at this moment stood alone, nothing but superhuman virtue and more than miraculous forbearance could save that guilty and detestable race of men from an awful retribution."

These remarks were commented on and severely censured in the House of Commons. Lucas replied

that he "had described in very faint and imperfect colours the true character of the Irish landlords; and he was glad to see from the speeches of two or three English members that the House steadily contemplated the confiscation of much landlord property as a consequence, and even a desirable one, of outdoor relief."

The landlords, no way abashed by the feeble portraiture, had the hardihood to declare that outdoor relief would be ruinous to Ireland. "Ruinous to Ireland!" exclaimed Roebuck, the member for Bath, "that means in their vocabulary ruinous to the landlords; for they were never called upon to do their duty but their constant cry was that Ireland was ruined." The landlords found apologists, however, men of tender hearts. One of these thought it hard of Mr. Roebuck to strike the Irish landlords now they were down. The *Tablet* retorted:—

"Good taste, forsooth, forbids mentioning their crimes now. Their victims are perishing by thousands, but please discuss the question as if the landlords were free from error. The men who make these craven appeals to mercy have not joined to the vices of tyrants so much as the manhood of slaves. If they were not utterly vile and degraded, if a spark of honour burned in their bosoms, would not this be of all others the very time they would choose to court inquiry, to invite censure, to solicit investigation, to welcome reproof?"

While the Government and the landlords were thus killing the people, one on principle and the other from selfishness, some splendid acts of heroism were performed by private persons and by officials in their private capacity. The following account I had from the lips of the Relief Commissioner in Clifden. At one time, for days together, even the miserable Government allowance of meal fell short. Not daring or unable to meet the famishing people, the Commissioner retired, morning after morning, to an eminence that overlooked the sea, and there sat straining his eyes to catch the first glimpse of the ship that was to bring food. At last it came, but not before many had yielded up their lives, nor soon enough to save those in the workhouse from the fever. One night the doctor came to him, and told him the people in the house were dying, and there was no one to prepare them for burial, no one to wrap their bodies round, scarcely linen for the purpose, and no coffins. "You and I must do our best," said he; "come along." Turning to his wife, the Commissioner asked, "What must I do? It's almost certain death." "You must go," was the quiet reply of the brave woman. And so he did. A book could be filled with such tales.

At the end of March a national fast was proclaimed. This proclamation was viewed in different ways by different people. While Lucas recognised the absurd pretence by which her Majesty's advisers—lay gentlemen of different

religions—made the Queen command an act of humiliation, made her threaten imaginary penalties on all who should not obey, and made her order her Bishops to compose a form of prayer to be read in all Catholic churches, Jews' synagogues, Dissenters' meeting-houses, Unitarian assembly-rooms, &c., &c., yet he saw in the proceeding some satisfaction that the very act was a recognition, however faint, of the great fact that public calamities are judgments of God, and that prayer and humiliation are the divinely-appointed means of averting such judgments. Anything, he thought, was better than the deistical profanation of the Whig *Chronicle*, which said that "no person with any pretensions to instruction now sees a special interposition of Providence in a blight, any more than in a thunderstorm." It was certainly an odd piece of business. "Her Majesty commands her Bishops to fast and pray. She is, of course, not so foolish as to order prayers of a coachmaker, or a new phaeton of the Bishops; but yet it might have been done without any precise breach of etiquette. The proclamation was agreed to at the Council. Doubtless one or two Bishops were present, but their absence would in no way have invalidated it; while the prayers would have had the same authority if drawn up by a coachmaker as they now have being drawn up by another functionary."

The Poor-Law Bill was passed, but the landlords succeeded in carrying a clause to the effect

that no tenant of half an acre could get relief without losing his little holding. The consequence of this was, that having nowhere to go when their cabins were surrendered, many preferred to die of starvation. We shall meet with this fact again in 1850. The *Tablet* in this connection recalled the words of the mild and meek Bishop Berkeley, who described certain squires and landlords of his day as "vultures with iron bowels."

Early in April large supplies began to arrive from America and elsewhere, and in one sense the worst was over. Still the deaths from fever increased, and it was long before the grain could be distributed. A very large fleet from the Black Sea and the Mediterranean lay off Gibraltar for more than a month waiting for a wind. Wheat rose to £6 a quarter (nearly four times its price now), and Indian-corn in something of a similar proportion. With the arrivals prices fell fifty per cent., and hope began to revive. At this very moment O'Connell breathed his last in Genoa. Commenting at length upon his life and death, Lucas wrote thus:—

"Dying, as the phrase is, in a foreign land, he did not die abroad. . . . An old man, broken with the storms of state, he resolved—if God so willed—to rest his weary bones . . . in that only spot of earth to which earthly ambitions and selfish prosperities are alien. And though God did not wholly grant his wish, yet He mercifully gave him

to die within that land of which Rome is the chief city. . . .

"Some of O'Connell's countrymen find it hard to understand why he should bequeath his heart to Rome and surrender his body only to the Irish soil. They even murmur at the bequest, and ask themselves whether the first and foremost thing in his heart was not Ireland—whether he was not an Irishman above everything; and they count it almost an act of treason in him to have given such a preference to Rome.

"What a view of O'Connell's character do these questionings imply! First of all, and before all, O'Connell was a Catholic—a Roman Catholic. His allegiance to God came first. . . . This was his first love, and to this every other love was subordinate. He did not love Ireland less, but he loved Rome more; or rather, he loved Ireland more because he loved Rome most. . . . He loved Ireland the more because it was reasonable to do so, and in his own heart he placed her titles to his affection in a reasonable order."

CHAPTER XX.

PIUS THE NINTH.

LET us return now to the middle of 1846, and to a subject of world-wide importance.

The death of Gregory XVI. took place on the 1st of June in that year. In commenting upon the event Lucas remarked, that as this pontificate had begun in 1831, at the commencement of a new era, political and social, in Europe, so it would probably be found to have ended as Europe was about to enter on another new era. During the late reign the Church had expanded wonderfully all over the world. In Europe especially, everywhere trampled on, she was everywhere growing under the feet of her oppressors.

The Conclave for the election of a successor to Gregory assembled on the 11th of June, just ten days after his death, that is, on the day following the Novendiali, as it is called, or the conclusion of the ceremonies of the obsequies, which continue during nine days after the decease of a Pontiff. Four States have the power of vetoing, once each, any name proposed for election: namely, France, at that time governed by deists and heretics; Austria, whose religion was only half

Catholic, and who played into the hands of the Russian Antichrist; Spain, not then in intercourse with the Holy See; and Portugal, too weak to act. Before these Powers had time to intrigue, "suddenly, and by a kind of inspiration," says the *Tablet*, "the Conclave, putting aside all the formality of ambassadorial addresses, ballots, scrutinies, accessos, intrigues, vetoes, inclusives and exclusives, has proclaimed a new Pope rather than elected one."

The editor then points out how the mild virtues of the last Pope had not prevented "religious animosities, broils, dissensions, contests with crowned heads, refractory priests, rebellious chapters, and plotting Ministers of State. Where he sought to purchase peace" by mildness, he received rebuffs; but where, on the contrary, he exhibited downright boldness and invincible courage, "there, after a little brawling and noisy disputation, the victory remained with him, and his enemies were put to shame."

That being so, Lucas was of opinion that the Church required in its ruler "a man of iron will, invincible courage, large views, active zeal;" one who would stir up the inert, torpid habit into which the great body of the laity had fallen. Such a man he thought Pius IX. would prove to be.

When, therefore, the amnesty was proclaimed with which Pius IX. inaugurated his pontificate, Lucas was delighted. He remarked that, "coming

from a weak prince, such an act would be of very dubious significance . . . might be the result of that feebleness of character which loves to purchase the shouts of a crowd by the readiest means. . . . Such a clemency would be of evil augury, . . . would indicate a reign of favouritism, . . . would proclaim to us that the ruler from whom it proceeded was incompetent for his task, a slave to the difficulties of his position, prepared to sink beneath the burdens that accumulate upon him, and certain, when the fit changed, . . . to wash out the recollection of deeds of grace by tears of affliction, if not by tears of blood. But . . . this act of clemency has no such spurious origin. It is an act not of weakness, but of strength. It proceeds not from timidity, but from resolution. . . . They say that the Cardinals opposed, and that Austria remonstrated; but the Pope stood firm, and, in the concession of this very act of grace, displayed a firmness which hereafter will not blench, we are confident, before the turbulence of rebels . . . or the more malignant hostility of courts."

Lucas thought the intention was to make this the first scene of a drama whose unity of design would be strictly observed. All the while the prisons were crowded, and the feet of exiles from the Papal States trod the cities of Europe; and, while the reign of force prevailed, the Holy See had to depend upon Austrian bayonets for that support which it could not find at home. The Austrian

he regarded as an impure alliance, the Austrian Government as only half Catholic, her sceptre bloody and loathsome. The clemency now invoked showed a determination to incur no debt to Austria; "to cut the ignominious chains which had so long grappled the dynasty of the Church to the iron crown of the enemies of the Church or her faithless and pretended friends." Catholics might be assured that Pius IX. "meant to stand upright, without external aid." He was not going to "free himself from the Court of Austria to make himself the slave of the Tuileries."

The Pope had indeed just received with marked attention the Archbishop of Lyons, Cardinal de Bonald, who had in a pastoral strongly condemned the *Manual* of Dupin in favour of godless education in the French University. In all this affair the Cardinal had been one of the most strenuous opponents of the French Court, an indefatigable upholder of freedom of education, and an unswerving advocate of Church liberties against the Gallican slaveries. Before his elevation, the Pope, then Bishop of Imola, had had the pastoral translated into Italian and circulated throughout his diocese; now he had spoken of it in terms of praise to the author, and it was hoped by all Catholic France that he would second the efforts of the French clergy to obtain freedom of education.

"Thus encouraged," the *Tablet* proceeds, "Ireland will take a new lease of hope. The words spoken to the Cardinal de Bonald she will read

as addressed to the Archbishop of Tuam; for the Catholic Church knows no difference of race, or kingdom, or geographical boundary. The cause is everywhere the same. The same motives urge the same conduct. The oppressors are one in principle; the oppressed are one in their resistance. . . . If, then, his Holiness, setting himself free from courts, caresses the true followers of St. Peter, whom courts can neither seduce, nor blind, nor terrify; if he does it in France, he does it also in Ireland; he strengthens us in England by a livelier conviction that here also religion will be not subjugated by diplomatic intrigues."

The reader will here observe how Lucas picks out the Archbishop of Tuam as the representative of ecclesiastical independence in these countries. In later chapters he will be seen as *par excellence* the upholder of political independence and of ecclesiastico-political morality. But to proceed.

The amnesty edict was posted on the 17th July, and all Rome was in a ferment of gratitude. The people flocked to the Quirinal, where the Pope was residing, and testified by their acclamations, as he blessed them from the balcony, the joy with which they were filled. It was said by the *Times* that there was not a single discontented person in Rome that night.

A month later an article appeared in the *Tablet* on intrigues at Rome. It related how the antechambers of the French Embassy were daily thronged with clerical intriguers, and thanked

God that we were free from this species of danger. Referring to this it remarked :—

"An English Embassy would be the headquarters of English and Protestant intrigues, rather than of clerical ones. If an English Catholic were the ambassador, a door would be opened for all kinds of anti-Irish and anti-Catholic influence, and every Church measure of importance that was referred to Rome or made the subject of public discussion here would be made also the subject of diplomatic misrepresentation and underhand influence in the Holy City. The same would be the case, though perhaps in a less offensive degree, if the ambassador were a Protestant. What could be accomplished in this way is clearly demonstrated in the case of the French Jesuits and M. Rossi, in which the cause of religion received a grievous check by the intriguing activity of the French Embassy, which misled and deceived the Roman authorities."

At the same moment an Irish ecclesiastic was passing backwards and forwards between the British Government and the Holy See trying to establish an English Embassy in Rome. Lucas observed that the Irish Bishops especially must be highly flattered by this unsolicited attempt of a person, without any conceivable vocation, to bring about a result which was well known to be extremely distasteful to them. But Pius IX. was not the man to be cajoled. The part Lucas took in defeating the scheme, to which this was the

prelude, will be seen in the chapter on the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Towards the end of the year 1846 great reforms were announced in Rome. Railways were to be constructed, taxes diminished, licences abolished, and the interest on the debt reduced. Some people feared that evil would arise to the spiritual dominion of the Vatican from these mechanical and fiscal changes. Lucas ridiculed these alarms, declared that those human inventions, in which haters of the Church labour so indefatigably, are all given to the Church in dowry, and that the men who labour at them are her tools and bond-slaves. Thus—

"When Pompey made his famous expedition against the Mediterranean pirates, cleared the sea of innumerable marauders, gave peace to the coasts of Italy and the East, and restored the depopulated cities of Cilicia, what was the meaning, what the purpose of this celebrated achievement? Of course, we cannot fathom all the purposes of God in even the smallest event that happens around us; yet something we can know, something plausibly conjecture. When we hear of the cities of Cilicia being again established under the Roman domination, we cannot help reflecting that within little more than half a century after that event one Paul was born, 'a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia,' and that his freedom was one of the means used by God for having His gospel preached in Rome. And when we read of the sea being

cleared of pirates, we cannot help thinking of Pompey the Great, with his magnificent triumphs and the splendour of his name, as little better than a crossing-sweeper, sent to sweep clean the path along which the Jew in bonds was to travel to the overthrow of that very system whereof the pirate-tamer was so illustrious a pillar.

"Or when the Censor Appius, two and a half centuries before the Christian era, hewed out and built up the famous Appian Way, which became the model of those Roman roads which, in four centuries, united by swift and easy communication four thousand miles of Roman territory, was their main purpose the perfection of that Pagan civilisation which has passed away? We think not. Infinitely more of permanent work has been done through these roads by the humble Christian missionaries and apostles who passed along them than by all the splendid pageants of armies and imperators that trod them. Or, if we must have *public* events to bring matters home to our understandings, let us think of the memorable day when the young Constantine, fleeing from the death designed for him by Galerius, left secretly the palace and city of Nicomedia, and taking with him all the horses provided for the public service, rode, with incredible diligence, along these roads through Thrace, Dacia, Pannonia, Italy, Gaul, and Britain, and arrived at York in time to receive the dying embraces of his father, his nomination to the Empire, and the acclamations

of the legions, who confirmed his father's choice. When we reflect what work Constantine accomplished to overthrow the yet powerful paganism of all the provinces, it may well seem to us that our Lord Himself was riding post to the destruction of His foes.

"And why should we suppose that God knows less how to turn to the account of His own service the road of iron than the road of lava and of rock? If, then, the temporal ruler seeks to bring the distant parts of his dominion together, in order by facility of communication to promote their civil and social unity, how much more necessary is this for the spiritual ruler? Those who remember that the temples of commerce and the cities of the world have no stable existence cannot but see that the revival of commerce on a great scale has turned principally to the account of the Church; cannot but admit that the great purpose for which these potent instruments have been brought into being has been to serve the Church, and that their greatest work has been what they have done in her service."

But the calm was of short duration. As early as April 1847, while the surface of European politics appeared calm and stable, Lucas perceived beneath an under-current which he thought would sweep away what then looked so peaceful. He regarded Europe as in a state of artificial repose, and he expressed himself to that effect four months before any alarming news of dis-

turbance came from Rome. It was about the end of July that the first seriously disquieting rumours reached this country.

Lucas did not expect the changes made by Pius IX. in the government of the States of the Church to be carried through in an uniformly peaceable way. He knew and said that "the fate of the Church, and pre-eminently of Rome, is to be always in danger, always in a storm, always needing and always receiving providential succour." On the other hand, he knew that the "strength of the Church consists not in repose nor in uninterrupted tranquillity, but in contest. Her mission is one of conflict. . . . But danger comes from unheroic timidity, . . . from the prudence which dares nothing, from following too closely the calculations of man, and forgetting that the atmosphere in which the Church must live is a supernatural atmosphere."

In the case of Pius IX. no such timidity had been exhibited. On the contrary, the maxims of worldly prudence, the advice of nerveless counsellors, had been discarded. A system of suppression, of secret police, and of really social tyranny had been exchanged for a popular Government, with comparative freedom of the press, and a notorious disposition to make every rational concession to the demands of the people. So sweeping a reversal of ancient policy and practice could not be brought about and carried to perfection without the development of abuses

in other directions. While clearly foreseeing that such were inevitable, Lucas yet predicted the triumph of the Church, the success of the new Papal régime. But then he wanted to make it clear that the success of which he spoke was not that which is patent to every eye. It was the success which led St. Peter to the cross and St. Paul to the sword; it was the success of Pope Xystus II. and his Deacon St. Lawrence, "one of whom preached his triumph from the gibbet, and the other from his burning couch;" it was the success of St. Gregory VII., "whose whole reign was made up of storms and commotions, for whom Rome itself was no place of safety, and who died at Salerno, with the memorable words upon his lips, 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile.'" "Surely," he said, "no Pope need desire a higher destiny than his, who commenced a great conflict against the powerful abuses of the time, inflicted on them many deadly strokes, and left them still unconquered, but easier for his successors to extirpate.

"This, then, is the kind of battle in which Pius IX. is engaged, by no means a mock-battle, no game for children to meddle with; a conflict in which to be persecuted would be the highest triumph. . . . Depend upon it, the Pope occupies the high place of the Church's power for no ease or comfort of his own. His doings and omissions have a fearful significance; they act upon the faithful everywhere, and the doings or

omissions of the faithful react upon him. In this case, it will not be for his own shortcomings that he will suffer; it will be for our base slothfulness, our miserable tepidity, our lack of heroism, our deadness to spiritual life, that he, the Saint, the Hero, and the Prince will have to suffer."

Such was Lucas's estimate of the Papal position. He would, therefore, be prepared for any catastrophe. It was not, however, over Rome that the revolutionary storm first broke. Beginning with the war against the Sonderbund in Switzerland, when, almost without warning, and quite without alleged offence, every convent in some of the cantons was suppressed and its inmates banished, the tempest rolled from city to city and from country to country, till, on the 24th of November 1848, Pius IX. suddenly quitted Rome and took refuge in Gaeta.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE GODLESS COLLEGES—PAPAL DECISION.

FOUR days before the date of the amnesty, the Cardinals, to whom the godless college question had been confided, reported unanimously against them, and it was expected that their report would receive the formal sanction of his Holiness on the 19th of July.

News of this event arrived towards the end of August, and, as might be expected, Lucas was in a state of great exultation.

"The news," he said, "not of the week, nor of the month, nor of the year, but (speaking of Ireland) of the century, is the glorious intelligence just come from Rome of the total and absolute condemnation of the godless colleges. . . .

"We cannot express our delight at this result. It is literally unbounded. . . . Fancy, in her widest sweep, can hardly imagine a more joyful event than the one now realised which actual fact presents to us. A Pope resolved to satisfy every just demand of the people and to sacrifice not one jot or tittle of the rights of the Church; a Pope bending every faculty of his being to glorify God alike in the bodies and the souls of those

intrusted to his charge; a Pope who, while he comforts those that mourn, preaches release to the captives and deliverance to them that are shut up, labours also in the spiritual department to build up the places that have been waste, to raise up ancient ruins and repair desolate cities; a Pope who has resolved, so far as in him lies, to restore the two glories of that glorious Italy of the Middle Age—the spirit of liberty, which led the van of civilisation, and the spirit of an unshackled Church, which hallowed that wondrous temporal prosperity; a Pope who, without trenching on the interests of the people, or truckling to courts, or worshipping absolutism, or *identifying the Cross with an absurd legitimacy*, or sacrificing the interests of justice to play the game of a miserable expediency, has sworn in his secret soul that, if God gives him strength to effect anything, the Church of this nineteenth century shall be as strong, as free, as active, as unshackled, as courageous before princes, as fearless of the world, as resolute in well-doing, bearing as haught a crest before the corrupt and the evil-doers, whether they be mobs or princes, as in any century between the reign of the first and that of the sixteenth Gregory.

"To Italy is given the first-fruits of the Pope's human policy; to Ireland, and by implication to this whole Empire, the first-fruits of his spiritual benedictions. For the former, prison bars are loosed; for the latter, the gates of hell, which

were ready to swallow us up, are vehemently thrust back. . . . Our dangers, past, present, and to come, turn on one point and revolve round one centre. The essential question in each of them was, is, and will be, whether the Church—now and in these dominions freer from human servitude than when the Apostles laid her foundations—shall or shall not retain that freedom unimpaired; shall or shall not part with a portion of her liberty in exchange for state favour or patronage; . . . shall stand in the market-place to be mocked and insulted by the perfidious rulers, who, like the first murderers of our Lord, bow the knee and utter words of worship while they spit upon the object of their vengeance. . . . Timidity in some, prostituted self-interest in others, suggested an answer which would have had these ignominious results. . . . Thank God, we at last see a stop put to this miserable state of things. The voice of the Supreme Authority has spoken; the true principles of the Church are vindicated."

The *Morning Chronicle* and the *Nation* declared that no decision had been arrived at on the question of the colleges. The *Nation* assured its readers that no "authorised person" had received any information as to their condemnation by the College of Cardinals. Lucas made merry over the ignorance of the writers in these journals. The College of Cardinals had nothing to do with the business. The matter was left to *certain*

Cardinals, who had sent in their report, as alleged. But he was at a loss to understand what an "authorised person" was. He thought any one who could get information honourably was "authorised" to receive it, and, "grounding himself on that general principle," he had hitherto considered himself an "authorised person," and he *had* received the news.

The fact was, that, owing to the press of business in Rome, the final document did not arrive for more than a year. The Holy Father took the matter into his own hands, and in a rescript dated the 9th October 1847, and signed by Cardinal Fransoni and Monsignore Barnabo, condemned the colleges; much to the disappointment of Dr. Murray and his supporters. The English press was beside itself. The *Morning Chronicle* considered the interference an impertinence, and could not understand how an Italian ecclesiastic should interfere with British subjects on British territory and under a British Act of Parliament. The *Times* spoke with strength and vehemence, and in a manner to provoke laughter and good-humoured contempt.

According to that paper, the action of the Pope was the greatest misfortune to the Catholics of the United Kingdom; it had injured their prospects, ruined their affairs, thrown them back half a century, and, if persevered in, would bring about the most frightful results. The writer threatened a repetition of the Gordon riots. To

this the *Tablet* replied, that in 1780 Burke, in his famous Bristol speech, had said that there were then in London four or five thousand Irish labourers, more remarkable for determined resolution than for much foresight, and that if once they had thrown themselves into the fray, no power under Heaven could have prevented a general conflagration. But the five thousand had now grown to two hundred thousand, and eighty thousand throughout the country in 1780 had increased to a million: it would, therefore, be dangerous to bring a new Lord George Gordon into the field, since "a repetition of the brutalities of that time would mean the destruction not of London only, but of Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow." The *Tablet*, on that ground, advised any man in power to "avoid all lines of policy that could possibly lead in that direction. The Catholics would suffer terribly; but so would the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Aldermen, and the merchants." On the whole, a course of prudence and justice was the best policy.

A manly letter of Lord Arundel and Surrey to the *Times* aroused the wrath of that journal. The paper war extended all around, and soon waxed fast and furious. All the "organs" took up the cry, the comments of one being only more silly than those of another. To those Catholics who condemned the condemnation of the colleges Lucas had put some very pertinent questions,

which his opponents found it difficult to answer. He asked :—

"What principles can beget and develop enthusiasm for the cause of the Church? Must the Pope look for his supporters throughout the nations among men whose main object is temporal politics? Is it by acting so as to satisfy and please the half-religious, the indifferent, the careless, the timid, that men can ever create religious (or other) enthusiasm? Is it by truckling to fears, and doubts, and deficient energy? Was it by half-measures that St. Paul inspired his followers with a willingness to die? Was it by meeting the wisdom of the world half-way that Hildebrand saved the Church from its oppressors? We think not."

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE—THE THEORY OF NON-INTERFERENCE IN POLITICS.

ALLUSION to the Catholic Institute has already been made in Chapter IX. From 1843 to 1847 it led a moribund sort of life, just breathing, but nothing more. In the latter year, the conduct of the Whig Government in the matter of Catholic primary education was calculated to infuse, if anything were capable of infusing, life into the Institute, and to make it put forth some show of energy. This is what happened. It made a *show* of activity, and after this fashion. The report laid before the annual meeting on the 21st of April 1847 disclosed what would have been, to any one unacquainted with Whig ways, a startling revelation. Mr. Langdale, the chairman of the Institute, had been in correspondence with Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, and Lord Lansdowne on the subject of a grant by the Committee of Council on Education to Catholic schools. After sundry evasions and delays, which lasted over eight months, on the 12th of February 1847 Mr. Langdale had made a special application for aid to

Catholic schools in Blackburn. In reply to this Mr. J. P. Kay Shuttleworth wrote as follows :—

"I have submitted to the Lord President of the Council (Lord Lansdowne) your letter dated the 12th instant, relating in general terms to the grounds on which you seek aid from the Parliamentary grant towards the erection of Roman Catholic schools in the town of Blackburn."

On the 26th of March Lord Lansdowne wrote to Sir Culling Eardley Smith these words :—

"Only one application of the kind (made in 1840) has yet been brought under the consideration of the Committee of Council, and in that case the matter did not proceed to a conclusion."

And the noble Lord repeated this assertion in the House of Lords.

Commenting on this species of Whig veracity, the *Tablet* exclaims: "Conceive—only conceive the possibility of a man writing, on March 26th, that no Catholic application had been made to the Council, with the exception of one in 1840, when he himself, only one month previously, received, considered, and directed a reply to be given to another application, which he knew to be only one out of many that were waiting to be made. Imagine a man carefully and elaborately replying to an application in February, and in March denying that any such application had been made."

But this was not all. Lord John Russell raised a quibble on the minutes of December 1839,

declaring that they prescribed the reading of the "Authorised Version" in any assisted school. Here was another untruth. Those minutes, said Lucas, contain no such provision. They do not refer to the Authorised Version in any way. What they require is, that the Scriptures shall be read—not any particular version. But in fact, the almost incredible supineness of the English Catholics themselves deserves to share with Whig dishonesty the discredit of the pitiful result achieved by the correspondence above referred to. It is matter of indignation rather than of surprise that when, on the 19th of April, Lord John Russell proposed a grant of £100,000 to primary schools, Catholics were entirely excluded from participating in the amount.

The annual meeting of the Catholic Institute was held two days later, and the indignation of the Catholic Bishops found vent in some forcible language. Bishop Briggs said, "We have been deceived by her Majesty's Ministers. We have been bargained for and sold to" the Wesleyans. Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Wiseman thought "there was an understanding among members of her Majesty's Ministry that one of them shall always be prepared by a felicitous ignorance to contradict the statement of another."

Their Lordships only expressed the general feeling of the meeting. Among the resolutions passed, the third, moved by Dr. Wiseman and seconded by Mr. Langdale, called "upon all

classes of their fellow-Catholics to unite in one cry of indignant reprobation at this insulting exception from the public grant."

On the 8th of May the *Tablet* called attention to this resolution, and strongly urged the necessity of holding an aggregate meeting in pursuance of its terms. A fortnight later that journal thought it might be taken for granted that such a meeting would be held. Adhesions had come in from so many and such important places, that the formal decision of the Acting Committee of the Institute might be taken for granted.

But on the 29th the editor had occasion to say, "It is with the utmost dismay we announce to our readers the lamentable fact that the Acting (*un*-acting? inactive? incapable?) Committee of the Catholic Institute, after sending to every congregation in Great Britain invitations to form an aggregate Catholic meeting, has decided that the subject is beyond its capacity (which we firmly believe)." The ground upon which the Committee took its stand was, that by the formal constitution of the Institute it was forbidden to interfere in "politics." Now Lucas had taken an active part in the remodelling of the Institute as it then existed; he had attended most of the meetings at the time of its reorganisation, and had no recollection of any pledges given on the occasion. He asks then:—

"What is politics? . . . According to the chairman, it is 'politics' for the Institute to call a

general meeting of the English Catholics on the subject of education.

"But it is not the *subject* . . . that renders this proceeding 'political;' because at an annual meeting of the Institute this very subject is quite the order of the day. The taint of politics, it seems, lies in the quality of the persons called together. For the Institute to summon into a large room a number of persons who have paid a shilling and received a ticket, nothing can be more admirable. For the Institute to summon, for the same purpose, into the same room, a number of persons who have not paid a shilling or received a ticket, this, it seems, is 'politics,' and therefore forbidden. . . .

"Again, for the Committee to write . . . to every congregation in Great Britain to suggest the propriety of calling an aggregate meeting, . . . this was not 'politics.' But . . . to name a day, appoint a place of meeting, and draw up resolutions, this, it seems, in the jargon of the day, is 'politics.'

"Again, . . . for the Institute to stir up the Catholic electors of this Empire to make justice to their religion a condition of their votes, this is 'politics' and forbidden. The Committee may do many things, but it may not speak to electors. It may address the Crown; it may have an interview with the Prime Minister; it may petition both Houses of Parliament; it may appoint deputations to wait upon individual members of both

Houses, to try to influence their votes; but, for the very same purpose, to wait upon and try to influence an elector—this, it seems, is 'politics.' The Institute is bound to see thousands of souls damned rather than speak to an elector. The chairman is pledged to their damnation rather than to allow the Institute to remind a Catholic elector of the religious obligations under which he exercises his vote. Sublime common sense!

. . . . .

"Would you know the real meaning of the word 'politics'? Look in no dictionary, consult no philosophic treatise, examine no accredited writer of English speech. Definition, description, use and wont, are of no avail in determining the meaning of this mysterious term. Put your forefinger on the chairman's pulse, and you will soon know whether it is 'politics.' It is 'politics' when he is frightened; 'politics' when his heart beats quicker than usual; 'politics' when some of his great friends write to him to remonstrate. And thus, as the meaning of the word is made to depend upon the state of his liver or digestion, no human being can tell what is and what is not within the functions of the Institute."

Dr. Briggs called Lucas to task for this language, which, he said, ought not to have been addressed or applied to Mr. Langdale. Lucas replied that he submitted to the Bishop's censure as to the manner of the article, but that most respectfully he must adhere without reserve to

the matter. It cost him, indeed, nothing to withdraw any expressions that appeared harsh towards Mr. Langdale, for whom he entertained a very high respect; and he had less disinclination to apologise to him, because his strictures had been directed not so much against that gentleman as against those by whom he was surrounded. And Lucas did not believe that, if left to himself, he would have hesitated to call the meeting. The same difficulty in the interpretation of the word "politics" is set forth in Lucas's "Statement" in the fifth book of this work. "What is wanted," said he, "is not to interfere with politics in the vulgar sense of the term, but to rise above politics altogether. What is asked is, not that any man should leave his party, or vote against his party, *but that he shall make the condition of supporting his party* what we may call justice to God; that he shall use his vote, whether in Parliament or at the hustings, to coerce either his member or his candidate, or his fellow-member or his fellow-peer, into paying that attention to Catholic interests which justice and the law of God imperatively demand. What sort of a Catholic—what sort of a Christian—what sort of a man—must he be who is too great a coward or too great a traitor to find the performance of this simple duty above his miserable capacity? We shall leave the answer to those who are more skilful than we are in the epithets of reproach."

CHAPTER XXIII.

CALUMNIES AGAINST THE IRISH CLERGY.

In the autumn of 1847 a certain Major Mahon of Strokestown in Roscommon, an evicting landlord, had been shot dead. This circumstance afforded a fine opportunity for calumniating the Catholic clergy, and the Rev. Mr. M'Dermot, the priest of the parish, was fixed upon as one upon whose supposed acts it would be convenient to hang a general charge against the priesthood of conniving at, and even promoting and instigating, murder. He was accused, accordingly, by Lord Farnham in the House of Lords, on the 6th of December 1847, of having denounced Major Mahon from the altar on the Sunday before his assassination. The accused at once denied the truth of the allegation. He had not denounced the man. The denial was of no avail. The *Times*, which had published the charge and commented upon it with its accustomed ferocity, repeated the calumny, pretending that the denial was a mere quibble. This the *Times* did without troubling itself to procure any evidence on either side. The accusation was a gross lie, and the *Tablet* described the action of the *Times* as a

piece of "deliberate and diabolical malice." A lengthened correspondence on the subject took place between Dr. MacHale, the Archbishop of Tuam, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, and Lord Arundel and Surrey. The falsity of the charge was distinctly proved, but no apology was made to the calumniated clergyman, and his innocence was not publicly admitted. The lie was afoot, and was too valuable to the Government to be sacrificed. Writing on the general subject, the editor of the *Tablet* makes these observations :—

"Denunciations from the altar still continue to engage the attention of the British public to an extraordinary extent, and all possible means are being used, through almost all the organs of opinion in England, to ruin the character of the priesthood in reference to this matter. Petitions are presented, speeches made, letters written, leading articles thundered forth, and in all these the falsehoods of some professional liar in the West of Ireland, unsupported by evidence or any sort of corroboration, are boldly taken for granted, and assumed to be unimpeachable fact. It is to no purpose that the statements are denied, that inquiry is challenged, that the utmost publicity is courted. All this avails nothing. The policy of the priest-haters is to assume the truth of their allegations, and then to bend every fact and circumstance to that predetermined result. To accomplish this object, the most shameful perversions of truth are indulged in, the most un-

blushing falsehoods deliberately uttered, and every effort made to revive on a grand scale the deeds of 1678. In this old plot, now revived, the *Times* newspaper seems candidate for the honourable office of Titus Oates.

"The plot goes on, the public mind is being duly inflamed. Opinions the most wild are gravely uttered. Suggestions the most absurd are daily put forward. What *may have been* the indiscretion of one or two individuals is unscrupulously attributed to the whole body of the Irish clergy. Three thousand priests, whom the labours, the famine, and the fever of last winter, spring, and summer have worn down, and who are now preparing for another campaign of the most disinterested toil and privation in the service of the poor, are marked out, the whole body of them, as the special objects of legislative vengeance. Being in the course of serving God at the hazard of their lives, it is almost a necessary consequence that the devil should have his revenge against them. Plots and popular frenzies are the devil's chosen instruments; and as, whenever there is a monied majority on the devil's side, the *Times* is his sworn servant, the *Times* of course is now in the thick of the plot, and doing the devil's work with its best skill by blowing the coals of popular delusion."

The reiteration of the calumnies went on. The inventors had one object in inventing, and the Government another in propagating, the false-

hoods and keeping them alive. Everybody understands the advantage of carrying the war into the enemy's camp, and none better than the Irish landlords and their Orange abettors. Notwithstanding Major Mahon's fate, no less than 3000 persons were turned off the estate on to the roadside that winter. Of these, some 150 were widows, and many of the poor creatures died of starvation. This was only a specimen of what was taking place all over the country. The attacks upon the clergy were, then, a kind of self-defence. Public attention must be diverted from landlord misdeeds, and denunciations of three thousand priests were the most convenient and the most effectual weapons.

On the 1st of January 1848 the *Tablet* said :—

"The stories of priestly instigations to murder are a collection of the grossest, foulest, and most unfounded falsehoods, manufactured on system, and poured, like a 'leporous distilment,' into the ears of dozing John Bull, for a purpose as wicked as that of the 'adulterous beast,' from whose crimes this illustration is taken.

"The priests have not held up the landlords to assassination. They have not been accomplices before the fact. They have not used their influence to produce confusion and envenom discord. If Ireland is not, at that moment, literally an Haceldama, it was to them she owed her exemption from the curse; and, for reward, they found themselves the objects of a Protestant conspiracy,

which doomed to death by murder every parish priest in whose parish an assassination might take place."

The miscreants had a champion in the Earl of Shrewsbury. In a series of letters addressed nominally to Drs. MacHale and O'Higgins, but actually to the *Morning Chronicle*, he framed an indictment against the Irish Church in general, and those prelates in particular. He repeated the accusations against Mr. M'Dermot, notwithstanding their abundant exposure, and he ventured to call the Bishops of Munster and Connaught to account for alleged delinquencies. He cited them before the bar of English Protestant opinion to answer for a whole catalogue of crimes. Dr. MacHale replied in a letter which, read at this day, seems to be a tolerably complete condemnation of the traitor Earl. The heat of passion at the time precluded the possibility of an unprejudiced judgment. This letter formed for some weeks a topic of discussion in the British press.

"Advocates of Tractarianism," said the *Tablet*, "which is based on a strained belief in the practical abuses of the Anglican Church; advocates of Lord Palmerston, who exterminates his tenantry at home and persecutes the Jesuits abroad; advocates of Swiss lawlessness and irreligion; advocates of a state control over the independence of every species of ecclesiastical authority and the supremacy of human respects over the law of God, form a panel from which to select a

jury to try the cause of the Earl against the Prelate. The verdict is, of course, against the Catholic Archbishop, whom the journals persecute daily with sustained rancour and ferocity."

"His real crime," continued the *Tablet*, "was his coming to the defence of the Church. The original charge no more concerned him than it did the Archbishop of Paris or Dr. Wiseman. He was merely concerned for the honour of the Bishops and priests of the Church, and, in that character, he had rebuked the Earl for his presumption, his want of charity, and his disregard of truth. Hence the display of hatred by all the enemies of the Church. Naturally the public, which, on questions that do not concern its pocket or its stomach, is content to have its thinking done for it, joined in the anti-clerical and anti-Irish cry.

"The English people of the middle and upper classes are," observed Lucas, "Pharisees to the very marrow of their bones. With full bellies, roofs wind- and water-tight, warm hearths, soft beds, and a balance at the banker's, enough (as they think) to ensure them against Providence itself, they sit arrogantly on the crimes of starving, naked, heart-broken men. Even their very alms-deeds are too often blasted by pride. This people, among whom it has passed into a proverb that poverty is a crime, and which, without discrimination of circumstance, or temptation, is pitiless as only Pharisees can be; this people, which in the

midst of its riches has forgotten God, and in His place has reared up a ghastly idol, in which, as in an enchanted mirror, it beholds and worships a golden image of itself; this comfortable, purse-proud, luxurious, money-making nation, as a matter of course, has decided against the poor; pronounced the Irish savages; their crimes without excuse; their religion a Thuggery; their priests instigators to murder.

"In the minds of the entire people of England the people of Ireland are doomed. There is no hope for them, and hardly any pity. In the munificent (money) effort of last year, our stock of charity, corporeal and spiritual, is quite exhausted. Measuring all things by money, we think we have done the finest and most generous action that ever was performed. After that ten millions, we expected angels to worship us: at the very lowest, we believed we had a right to expect—what we are not very punctual in paying to Almighty God for His greater benefits—eternal gratitude from the objects of our bounty. Great was our wrath when we discovered that this was not to be; that even our wonderful generosity could not prevent famine from disorganising society, nor the friends and relatives of men murdered by slow process of law seeking atonement for lordly homicide. We could only account for such glaring ingratitude by supposing either the people to be incorrigible or the priests guilty of the blackest crimes. So we swore in our wrath, what

we had so often sworn before, that the people were 'a filthy and felonious rabble,' and that their religion and priesthood was little better than organised Thuggery."

When the public mind was beginning to be in a feverish and excited state, the Irish Orangemen began again their accustomed task. Falsehood upon falsehood streamed through the Orange press. Conspiracies—not even founded in fact—were hatched daily. Landlords were made to receive threatening letters on whom their poor neighbours had never bestowed anything but blessings. Peers were made to fly the country who had never so much as dreamed of danger. Men were foully murdered who yet live and laugh at these diabolical inventions of Orange mendacity. Ministers had their own reasons for promoting the growth of these falsehoods.

"The English Government," said Lucas, "are accomplices in these villanies. Ministers have an end to serve by the general belief in these frauds, both here and in Rome. The Marquis of Lansdowne made no secret of their intentions. He frankly avowed that the Government was bent upon renewing diplomatic intercourse with Rome, in order to use Roman influence for the management of the Church in Ireland. To accomplish this end, it was expedient not merely to use friendly expressions in the Holy City, but to have it believed there, and throughout Europe, that Ireland was an Aceldama, and the priests instigators to blood

and that the only safety of the Church in Ireland consisted in Rome taking counsel with St. James's as to the spiritual well-being of that ill-fated land."

The speech of Lord Lansdowne, here referred to, was one delivered in the House of Lords on the 12th December, in which he declared that "there was no court in Europe in which it would be more useful than in Rome for the British Government to explain the nature of our transactions—to lay open to that court their nature and condition, or to induce that court to use its peculiar sources of influence in certain parts of her Majesty's dominions."

How Lucas regarded this new attempt will be seen in the following chapter. Suffice it here to say, that Dr. Wiseman was desirous to see a renewal of diplomatic relations between Rome and St. James's. At that time he believed in the soft words of Whig Ministers. It was not till the publication of the "Durham Letter" in 1850 that his eyes were opened to the true nature of British professions. So little, however, did he resent Lucas's opposition to the scheme, that when one of his clergy, whom he proposed to make his Vicar-General, objected on the ground of his perfect agreement with Lucas, and urged the inconvenience of their taking, publicly, opposite sides on a matter so warmly debated, the Bishop would listen to no excuse, gave perfect freedom, and made the appointment.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY—DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BILL.

If the conduct of the Government in the matter of grants to Catholic schools had excited indignation, that of the Catholic leaders was still more severely condemned by every one interested. It was felt that the management of Catholic affairs must be taken out of incompetent hands, and a new Association be formed. The name fixed on was the Society of St. Thomas of Canterbury. For the purpose of founding it, a considerable number of meetings were held throughout the country.

Lucas threw himself into the movement with his accustomed enthusiasm, attended many of their gatherings and delivered speeches. Scarcely any one of the aristocracy was present at these meetings. The idea was to lay the foundations on a lower social stratum than that on which the Institute had rested, without, however, excluding the aristocracy. Rather the promoters desired, after having shown their capacity for organisation, to place the leadership in the hands of the men who had hitherto been looked upon as the "natural

leaders" of the Catholic body. The Earl of Shrewsbury was invited to assume the presidency, which he did. At this distance of time, it seems strange that, with such experience as the history of the Institute afforded, the interests of the Catholic Church should be placed at the mercy of persons whose incompetency had been so clearly demonstrated. Yet so it was.

What part Lucas took in this arrangement I know not. It is certain that in all his sharp contests with Lord Shrewsbury, he was not consciously influenced by any personal motives; and he certainly hoped and believed that any hostility which his plain speaking might have excited had died out and passed away. When the Association was formally constituted on the 30th of November, he expressed his regret at any too great warmth of manner he might have exhibited, and at any difference which had arisen therefrom. And since the two men with whom he had had the warmest controversies, namely, the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Arundel and Surrey, were willing to co-operate in a work of which he was notoriously the soul, he had reason to hope and expect that the past would be buried in oblivion.

The breath was hardly cold with which Lucas signified the hope that the Society "would have the co-operation of the whole Catholic body irrespective of party, of opinion, of rank, of race or nation, and that they would thus become and remain for ever a united body," when that pleas-

ing dream faded before the calumnious attacks upon the Irish bishops and clergy, championed, as has been seen, by Lord Shrewsbury. Just nine days after the acceptance of the presidency of the new Association, this nobleman began his onslaught in the letters to which reference has been made in the preceding chapter; and the *Morning Chronicle* summed up the dispute in these words:—"The British Protestant public are deeply indebted to the Earl of Shrewsbury." Under these circumstances, it was impossible for the Earl to retain his position in the Society, and he resigned accordingly.

The first work of the new Association was in connection with a Bill for the restoration of diplomatic relations with Rome. This Bill was introduced on the 17th of February 1848. Lord Lansdowne moved the second reading in a speech intended to convey the impression that the Bill contained nothing new or peculiar. The inconvenience of the breach between the two Governments was, he averred, an old standing grievance, adding that irregular methods of communication between the courts had frequently been resorted to in consequence. But Lord Stanley exposed the pretence, saying—

"You know that the Pope has influence over your Roman Catholic subjects, and you seek to obtain an influence over the Pope in order to prevent his interference with your Roman Catholic subjects being carried on in a mode offensive to you. Now that is, in plain English, the object of this Bill."

The Association of St. Thomas of Canterbury began to move immediately, and, after a short delay, caused, apparently in part, by the effects of the French Revolution and the flight of Louis Philippe (for the excitement here was very great), a large meeting was held at the Freemasons' Tavern on the 20th March. W. J. Amherst, Esq., now Father Amherst, S.J., took the chair; after him Lucas was the first to speak.

Congratulating the meeting on the fact that the hall was filled to overflowing without the attraction of a single great name, a fact which proved how much the people had the cause at heart, he moved a resolution which declared, that in the opinion of the meeting it was—

"Absolutely certain that the main design in this measure was to have an effectual means of interfering in Catholic ecclesiastical affairs, and of applying threats and other temporal coercion to compel the Holy See to use its spiritual influence for the promotion of their own political views in this Empire, and particularly in Ireland."

He read the extracts already given from Lords Lansdowne and Stanley, and set forth the *quasi*-Catholic argument that "the Holy See was so protected by the power of the Almighty that it was almost blasphemy to suppose that any coercion could drive it into a course in any respect injurious to the interests of the Church." Then he quoted, in refutation of this extravagant proposition, the instances of Pius VII. at Fontainebleau, and of the Ministers of Gregory XVI. and

the Czar Nicholas in the earlier part of that pontificate; he repeated the substance of a recent conversation between Lord John Russell and a certain gentleman, in which his Lordship had said in effect, "We have tried to govern Ireland by coercion, and have failed; we have tried to govern it by conciliation, and have failed also. No other means are now open to us except those which we are resolved on using, namely, to govern Ireland through Rome."

"Gentlemen," said Lucas in continuation, "this is the real design and purpose of the Bill on which you are now met to deliberate. Its authors and promoters, the members and friends of the present Government, desire, not—as has been fantastically represented—benevolently to repeal a penal law; not to wipe away a reproach from England; not to abolish a legislative insult upon Rome; but, by the aid of English fleets and armies, to coerce the Holy See into becoming an instrument of party warfare within these realms. They wish to cajole Pius IX. Having made Ireland a desolation—the Poland of the West—they wish to degrade this great Pope from the high position he occupies as the Supreme Head and Father of the whole Catholic Church into a miserable party chief, the political enemy of his most faithful subjects, the exclusive upholder of a particular line of worldly policy, which every Catholic is at liberty, as I do now, to abhor and execrate. With a perfidy worthy of their traditional character,

since the days when Whig fraud allied itself to the perjuries of Titus Oates, down to the present hour, when they have armed themselves with lies to defraud our poor at the bidding of the Wesleyan Methodist—with a double perfidy they labour perpetually to interpose the Holy See between Ireland and their iniquities; to make Rome the breakwater of that raging ocean which, whatever interposes, will burst through all obstacles and swallow up their accursed policy at last.

"Gentlemen, I am sure I speak your mind, as well as my own, when I say that they cannot, they will not, they shall not, make Rome their instrument for governing Ireland. Of all periods in the history of the world, one would think that this is not the time for entering upon so mad, so preposterous an experiment. With the crash of falling thrones resounding in our ears; with so many exiled monarchs and princes scattered over Europe like seeds, but never to germinate; with the popular power everywhere receiving fresh developments, and (I say it with regret, for I am no republican) with the gloss of monarchic and aristocratic rule everywhere soiled with those stains which are ominous of the future—surely the very rats of the ship should warn us against the folly of allying the destinies of the Church too closely in any country with any Government, and least of all with a Government so profoundly execrated as that of England is in Ireland.

"England govern Ireland through Rome!

Never, never shall that day dawn upon the world. If these wretched Whig traders in politics cannot govern Ireland through justice, they cannot govern it through Rome. Nay, even if Rome itself were so ill-advised—which I am sure it never will be—as to make common cause with them in that country, it is my firm conviction that they would sooner succeed in dragging down religion to destruction than building up their own power. In that impossible event, it would be easier for them to poison the sources of that perpetual stream of reverence with which Christian Ireland has ever watered the feet of Rome, than to make sweet the bitter springs of that undying hostility which still bubbles up against themselves.

"Oh! gentlemen, what a lesson should all of us—priests and laymen, bishops and politicians, popes and cardinals—derive from the recent history of France. Sixty years ago, that country, the oldest daughter of the Church, was governed through Rome, in the perverted sense in which those use the words who would have Ireland governed through Rome. By a long series of successful usurpations, the influence of the civil power had penetrated into every department of the French Church. Court bishops, court preachers, court deans, court chapters, court abbés, court monks, court nuns, court synods, court councils, disseminated throughout the kingdom those doctrines of religious and political servility which were

esteemed the main buttresses of the royal power. And with what result?

"Why, even in times of tranquillity, the Church was scorned beneath an exterior semblance of respect. But when the Revolution came, she was made its first victim; and all the daggers of all the conspirators hacked one another in her sides, striking through her sacred substance to reach the heart of the monarchy of France. Oh, beware lest a repetition of this fatal experiment in Ireland bring with it a repetition of the foul catastrophe. The sufferings of the Revolution in some degree purified the clergy in popular estimation, so that, when the old monarchy began to be restored, the persecuted Minister of Pope Pius VII. enjoyed the honours of an ovation through the blood-stained cities of the South. Unhappily the Church was restored in company with the dynasty—that is, was injured by a state connection—and the Bourbons in France, just like the Whigs in Ireland, wishing to create a submission which had no root in the nature of things, bethought themselves of rather a stale expedient—that of once more governing France through Rome. Did they succeed? Yes, they succeeded in gathering round the Church the curses that were meant for themselves. Religion once more became the object of general hostility. Once more the passions of an infuriated people were let loose against it. And when, by the three days of July, France was emancipated—as Ireland will one day be—from

a detested foreign yoke, the servants of the altar with difficulty escaped a worse fate than even the servants of the crown.

"With the misfortunes of 1830 the good fortune of the Church of God came back to her again. No longer exposed to the abhorred suspicion of being an instrument of the state, she began to reoccupy her old and rightful position in the affections of the people. Her priests being no longer deemed court parasites, multitudes, as in the old times, flocked around the preacher's chair. Her altars, no longer the footstools of a corrupted royalty, were once more crowded by men and women, by old and young, by rich and poor, each pressing before each to receive on bended knees the Bread of Eternal Life. And at this very hour that passes over us, when from the soil of France, not merely the monarch but the monarchy is chased away—the Church of God, calmly and fearlessly, meets face to face this third Revolution, rejoices in it, is hallowed by it, is glorified by it. In the fiercest tumult of the struggle, the Crucifix and the consecrated Host are carried with reverence by armed and uncovered multitudes along the public streets to a place of safety. With bloody brow and soiled weapons, the combatant of yesterday comes, at the earliest dawn, to offer up before the altar a thanksgiving for his safety and his triumph. Sunday comes, and the old cathedral is once more thronged by attentive listeners, who hang upon the lips of the great

Dominican.[1] From the church-tower waves the tricolour. And even Cardinals fear not to proclaim that, when the justice of God overturns thrones and shatters crowns to pieces, religion will find its best protection beneath the flag of a Republic which offers it no official pre-eminence, or power, or emolument, which shows it no especial predilection, and which gives it nothing but what it cannot take away—the hearts of a willing people.

"Well, then, gentlemen, if this be so, what a stupid blasphemy it is to talk of governing Ireland through Rome. They shall do no such thing. They shall not pollute the Church which they have already ceased to persecute. They shall not insult it with gilded fetters. They shall not degrade the Nursing Mother of the poor into an engine of state policy against them. They shall not handle with their adulterous hands the sacred Spouse of Christ. They shall not make the Handmaid of the Almighty a slave to grind at their mill. If they wish to have a merely temporal intercourse with him whom—I suppose in derision—they call the 'Sovereign of the Roman States,' or with the oldest court in Europe; to re-establish the public courtesy of nations, or to pursue, however diligently, negotiations about commercial treaties, or the balance of power, or national independence, or any other worldly interest, we have no quarrel with them for inter-

[1] Père Lacordaire.

fering in these things. Upon that stage, I trust, we shall always be found ready, according to the real merits of what they may bring before us, to applaud them or hiss them with the strictest impartiality.

"But when they go beyond this; when from things temporal they pass to things eternal; when they presume to lay their hands upon those sacred influences through which Rome commands the willing and aweful obedience of a sixth part of the human race; when they avow their intentions of forcing their counsels upon the Holy See touching its ecclesiastical government, and prescribing rules for the guidance of Bishops and the protection of their Sees from heresy—then we stay not to inquire whether the advice they give be sound or rotten, Catholic or heretical. We at once proclaim against them, for their audacious and unjust presumption, the irreconcilable hostility of every Catholic in these realms who is not a recreant or a traitor. With frank humility, we throw ourselves at the feet of the Holy Father, to make known to him our fixed resolution against the common foe. And in the face of the whole world we raise our voices alike against the open designs of professed enemies and the more dangerous practices of those weak or those false brethren, who, in times of difficulty and danger, not knowing what they do, are prepared to barter away the inalienable birthright of the Church."

The Government Bill was duly passed, but the

folly of the Houses went so far as to refuse to receive an ecclesiastic as ambassador from one who was himself the Chief Priest. The Act was mere waste paper. The action of the Whigs in this affair was in exact accordance with a saying of Mr. Gladstone's in his well-known letter to Dr. Bagot, Bishop of Oxford, which was published during the election of 1847. He said, "The Church of England will not fully have done her work until the Church of Rome has ceased to exist and operate in these realms."

CHAPTER XXV.

IRISH INSURRECTION—MILITARY AFFAIRS.

An altogether new kind of investigation now engaged the attention of Lucas. Hitherto a critical study of military affairs lay beyond the range of his thought. Now, however, he had an object in applying his mind to the art of war. The effects of the European revolutions soon began to be felt in England and Ireland. In this country the agitation was for the most part of a peaceable character, and a large meeting which took place on Kennington Common on the 10th of April, when a monster petition, said to be signed by over five millions of persons, was presented to the House, came to an absurd end. Nevertheless, the disturbed state of England encouraged the hopes of the Irish popular leaders. Irish sufferings were far more acute than anything experienced here. The famine of 1847 continued, and the fever was still taking off its victims; although, as a man can only die once, the deaths were fewer in number. Still the mortality was abnormal, and there was no prospect whatever of forcing the Government, by any peaceable means, to introduce remedial measures. As a necessary consequence, both

people and leaders were in a very bitter mood. A certain number of the Young Ireland party were goaded by the callous indifference of Ministers into making some preparations for an armed outbreak. It was thought that, in the towns, vitriol, broken glass bottles, and molten lead might be made to take the place of ordinary weapons, and that in the country with pikes and a few guns a sort of guerrilla war might be carried on, which would harass the Government into granting Repeal.

Lucas did not believe success possible, and by way of correcting or confirming his view, he entered into the study of guerrilla wars, ancient and modern. The results of his investigations he published from week to week. In order to give weight to the counsels of prudence, which he felt bound to enforce, he reiterated the opinion, expressed in 1843, that the English Government in Ireland is an illegal Government, and that consequently to take up arms against it would be no treason, but a perfectly legal act, and justifiable in conscience; yet, looking at the matter in a practical way, he discouraged any such proceeding. He pointed out that "insurrections prepared and arranged come to nothing; that if half-a-dozen men, all of them so many Napoleons, were to meet in a room and prepare an outbreak, it could not possibly succeed. The people had no arms; there was no military organisation, no funds, no officers, and no military leader. The cities, such

as Dublin and Cork, are not of a construction for barricades and glass bottles; the streets are too wide for that kind of fighting; and besides, they were all well garrisoned. Then, again, he remarked that guerrilla warfare is not, according to the vulgar notion, a thing of rude undisciplined enthusiasm, in which the leaders may be expected to come of themselves, and in which the energy of the people may be depended on to carry the day. War, said Lucas, "requires a continuous chain of operations, any break in which may be absolutely fatal to success. It is true that, in some instances, peasant wars have been bravely maintained, under several chiefs of moderate abilities, and with no effective unity of operations; but it is easy to see that irregular fighting against a powerful regular army must be generally unsuccessful; that guerrilla wars, with the fairest chances, have owed all their success to the genius and capacity of one leader, and have utterly failed on his removal. In ancient history, that of Sertorius against Metellus and Pompey the Great was a striking example. In late years, that of the Carlists under Zumalacarregui is another. Sertorius was successful till he was assassinated, and then the war ceased. So with the Spanish chief. The Carlists were entirely discouraged when he took the command of three battalions, ill-paid, ill-armed, half-naked, barefoot; without drill-sergeants or officers, subaltern or superior; without magazines, without cavalry or artillery, almost without powder; and with the

deadening effect of defeat upon everything around him. In the course of eighteen months, this one man had defeated six generals in succession; had fought at the rate of nearly three battles a month; had organised his army by a series of some two dozen retreats or equivocal advantages; had formed a brilliant and effective cavalry; had provided himself with arms and artillery; without plunder had contrived to keep the pay of his troops from falling into arrear; had taken towns and garrisons by assault; had almost cleared Navarre and the Basque Provinces of the Christinos, and saw the route opened before him to Madrid, where he would have inevitably seated Don Carlos on the throne, when a ball struck him before Bilbao, and the war collapsed.

"If every Irishman who feels himself called on to take part in any such struggle would study this history, he would see how entirely guerrilla warfare, if hopeful and profitable, is dependent for success upon order, method, strict calculation, rigid economy of means, unity of direction, and the guidance which proceeds from the genius of a single man."

These considerations, and many more to the same effect, he urged in a letter to the *Tablet*, more than four columns in length, and signed by himself.

Some critics made merry over his passing from topics of practical theology and ecclesiastical history to those of military criticism. He thought

that although he was a mere civilian, his criticisms were as legitimate as those of other civilians who were inviting people to have their throats cut. He replied to the objectors by giving a detailed review of the Vendéan war, describing the country, the habits and character of its inhabitants, the leaders, the numbers of their troops, their hopes, and their final and signal failure.

Subsequently he went into an elaborate comparison of the forces at the disposal of the Spanish and Irish leaders, province by province, proving thereby the utter impracticability of a contest with the British troops.

For these articles his reading was necessarily extensive, and included especially the "Aide-Mémoire to the Military Sciences" and the works of the illustrious general Jomini. It must be admitted that no great acumen was necessary in the present instance to enable an outsider to foresee disaster. At any rate, to those who were goaded by British brutality into rash impatience he addressed salutary warnings, which they would have done well to heed.

It is, therefore, rather curious to note that some two years later John O'Connell attacked Lucas as having been a bad and dangerous counsellor at this very period. He replied that this was new language to be addressed to him. While O'Connell contented himself with repeating, day after day, "Don't shed a drop of blood," "Don't break the law," "Don't fight," and beyond the

utterance of these phrases gave no rational being a reason why he should *not* shed a drop of blood, break the law, or fight, the editor of the *Tablet* found himself obliged to do something to remedy O'Connell's neglect. For this purpose he applied his days and nights to the study of military treatises, the history of the chief guerrilla wars, the details of Irish resources and English military strength, and their distribution over the map of Ireland. In a very imperfect way, but, to the conviction of a great many influential and wavering people, he endeavoured to prove that, on military grounds, the insurrection had no chance of success.

Whatever he thought of the proposed rising, he was never tired of repeating that the Whigs were the real culprits; and when, on the 27th July, the insurrection was reported, and Lord John Russell announced that a Landlord and Tenant Bill, which Government had introduced, was to be postponed till the rebellion was suppressed, and that the "insurrection must be put down before proceeding to remedial measures," Lucas exclaimed, "Why, until bloodshed seemed imminent remedial measures were forgotten altogether. This is the best defence of insurrection yet propounded. Nothing short of bloodshed can stir these selfish Whigs." The insurrection was soon at an end. Then Lord Lansdowne had the assurance to tell the House of Lords that—

"Remedial measures were most anxiously desired, but that

the main difficulty and bar had been the unfortunate disposition in Ireland to rebel against all law."

This statement, said the *Tablet*, is one which every human being who reads it, including the noble speaker himself, knows to be untrue. "But Lord Lansdowne's truthfulness is a known quantity after his statements about Catholic claims on the Education Fund."

When the outbreak collapsed, there remained no one at the same time capable of taking a wide survey of the position and of assuming the lead in future action. "Never in any country," said the *Tablet*, "was there such a demand as there now is in Ireland for energy, activity, courage, and far-sighted industry and perseverance. . . . But to carry Repeal by an agitation expressly directed to that object has been tried in two ways, and has failed. Nevertheless Repeal must not be abandoned. By no means! But a new commencement must be made. Those who aspire to lead the people must commence by feeble beginnings. They must build up their edifice from the bottom of the ladder: they must apply themselves to agitating the grievances one by one, and to making palpable for each grievance its appropriate remedy: they must labour to turn to account the growing discontent in England: they must apply themselves to developing the good of which they have the opportunity, instead of grasping at a good which is at present beyond their reach."

The two questions first calling for attention were the land question and reform of the Irish representation in Parliament. "How," Lucas asks, "can the present representatives make any salutary impression upon public affairs, when, with a few exceptions, those who are honest want ability, and those who possess ability are despised for their personal character, so that Irish members are laughed at, and thought of with contempt? . . . Any association which should employ itself in preparing and sending to Parliament twelve representatives of capacity and practical skill would revolutionise the Imperial Parliament on Irish affairs."

He warned the people that the requirements of the moment were "acts, practical services, laborious industry, utilitarian sagacity, not high-flown eloquence, or any holiday acquirements whatever, nor the keenest insight into the failings of others." For himself, Lucas recurred to the question of the reclamation of waste lands, being confirmed by the evidence taken before the Devon Commission, evidence which abounds in instances of land converted from barrenness into the highest state of fertility, at an expense which three or four years' produce was sufficient to cover. The time for any real organisation on a new basis had not yet arrived.

CHAPTER XXVI.

STATE TRIALS—MITCHEL AND DUFFY.

WHILE the country was rapidly drifting into insurrection, Lucas paid a visit to Dublin. John Mitchel had been imprisoned for some violent articles in a paper called the *United Irishmen*, had been tried under the usual forms of jury-packing and the rest, and, as a matter of course, condemned and sentenced to transportation. Lucas wrote in indignant terms of the whole proceedings. He remarked that the very extravagance of Mitchel's publications only rendered the conduct of the Government more inexcusable. "The truth is," said he, "that under this precious Whig Government, of which so many English and Irish Catholics are members, every man who dislikes the English Government holds his life on the tenure of the Attorney-General's employers not choosing to murder him. Writing, as I do, in Dublin, I am not committed to Newgate, and strangled after the lapse of a few days, simply because Mr. Monahan does not think it prudent to have me strangled. If he did, if I were charged with shooting the man in the moon, he would find a sheriff to pack a jury, a judge to charge, jurors

to convict, a hangman to adjust the noose, and Whig journalists to attest the honesty, impartiality, and veracity of the court and the delicacy of the hangman." Fear is proverbially cruel, and Lord Clarendon, the Lord-Lieutenant, was the victim of ridiculous fears. He went about with a police constable at each arm, and members of the force were said to be appointed to "taste his gruel and champagne."

The loss of Mitchel was keenly felt by Lucas, who considered it his duty to vindicate the patriot's character. He had been represented as a foolish, cowardly braggadocio, a lover of revolutions, an enemy of order, and one who delighted in blood. This view Lucas declared to be the very reverse of the fact. He said, "There are few men now breathing whom I venerate more than John Mitchel. So far from being 'foolish,' he possesses genius and character of a very high order. He is no coward; on the contrary, I believe him to be, without exception, the bravest man I have ever known. . . . He is no braggadocio, but modest, composed, reserved, unostentatious, disinterested, free from ambition, humane, generous, affectionate, and, on good cause shown, as ready to lay his head upon a block as upon a pillow; a man not for a moment to be compared with the most exemplary and decorous Whig inheritors of plundered abbey lands; with the most constitutional personages. . . . All real lovers of order and truth will consider that not the rebels, not the

seditious, not the felons, but themselves, the constitutional personages aforesaid, are the nuisances whom all good men and true must seek to abate, remove, and exterminate by every lawful means." He held that "the only means of getting anything in the way of justice or honour out of the Whigs is by kicking and cudgelling them. Whether you be rich or poor, strong or weak, if you want the Whigs to do you right—for Heaven's sake kick them! You cannot lose by this policy; you may be so weak that kicking will get nothing; but then it will produce as much as modest, civil, moderate treatment. Leave them alone, address them in soft language, put up humble petitions, appeal to their sense of right, make yourself amiable and inoffensive, and you will get nothing from them till the crack of doom. They will tell you lies; they will put their tongues in their cheeks while talking to you; they will insult and plunder you. But if you threaten them with scars; if you denounce them as base, bloody, and brutal; if you promise, on the first opportunity, to break every bone in their skins; if you hold them up as a congregation of 'ruffians and miscreants;' if you call them 'butchers,' 'suborners,' 'starvers,' 'murderers;' if you advise people to buy pikes and stab them to the heart; if you menace them with cold vitriol, and solemnly swear to show them no mercy, then indeed you may get heard."

Parliament being prorogued, the so-called state trials proceeded; "judicial farces," Lucas styled

them. "Poor Smith O'Brien has been condemned by a jury packed by the agents of the perjured traitors of 1832. The Irish rebel, an honourable and brave man, who has broken no oath, and who, we make bold to say, has broken no law, is prosecuted by the English rebels, dishonourable cowards, selfish traffickers in blood and public confusion."

These remarks allude to certain treasonable Whig plots which were hatched at the time of the passing of the Reform Bill, and the secret history of which only now saw the light. This is not the place in which to give the details; suffice it to say, the leading Whigs had planned an insurrection rather than allow the Tories to carry the Reform Bill. The command of the rising was offered to Colonel, afterwards Sir William Napier, and by him indignantly rejected. When the facts came out in the course of Mr. O'Brien's trial, Albany Fonblanque, the editor of the *Examiner*, defended in that journal the contrived treason and treachery—for it was both—of the Whigs in 1832, on the ground that the knowledge that they were organised and had taken their resolution, in case of extremities, enabled them to carry their object by peaceable means.

On this the *Tablet* exclaims: "Poor Irish people! your crime is, not that some of you have rebelled, but that more of you have *not* rebelled. The Board of Trade, in the person of Mr. Albany Fonblanque, has calculated the chances of rebellion,

and, in the name of Lord John Russell, it tells you that, though the grievance of starved millions is not nearly so great as that of having your Whigs out of office, yet, when a sufficient number of you are known to be determined on rebellion, the Whigs will give you whatever you like. Their only reason for refusing Repeal, or whatever else you choose to ask for, is that they don't believe you in earnest; you don't kick the Whig traitors hard enough."

The prosecution and incarceration of Charles Gavan Duffy brought out Lucas strongly in defence of his friend. He knew him well, had had ample means of sounding the depths of his mind and heart, and had never spared him when he considered that principle or the obvious interests of Ireland were at stake. He was, then, an impartial witness. The estimation in which he regarded Duffy's services and character he expressed as follows:—

"In our humble opinion there are few men who have recently appeared in public in Ireland who are to be preferred to this unfortunate gentleman. He is not only, as are most of those with whom he has been associated, high-minded, enthusiastic, and brave, but he is a man of much higher mark than any of them; except, perhaps, the one who was the first sent, by a nefarious violation of justice, to expiate his imprudent patriotism across the seas. A man of great and various powers, self-educated, who has struggled upward through

many disadvantages, and, by his own energy and perseverance, has raised himself from obscurity to the exercise of great and varied influence over his contemporaries; just, warm-hearted, true, faithful, single-minded; tried by both extremes of fortune, but shaken by neither; alike brave against the difficulties with which poverty assails the poor, and the greater perils which wealth brings to those whom she pretends to favour; independent when outward circumstances were depressed; modest and unassuming when good fortune wooed him to arrogance—there are few men whom those who know him respect, love, and honour more.

"When we think of him, it seems hard to understand how his lot should be the interior of a jail. By natural temperament, as it seems to us, he had no special vocation for active politics. Certainly politics were not his favourite pursuit; and, as far as we could judge, he rather mourned and groaned over the hard fate which kept him bound to the rough turbulence of a political career. His true life was and is in literature. The editor of a journal half-literary and half-political; devising and executing literary projects of high expectation; expressing the sweet and lofty music of his own heart in appropriate strains of verse; with exquisite delicacy and tenderness criticising the works of others; and, in the world of letters, lending to persons less fortunate the helping hand, the counsel, guidance, and encouragement of which he had himself felt the want; a stranger to envy

and every sordid feeling; always ready with purse and in person to push on ability of every kind into its most appropriate sphere—every way well fitted, as we said, to be the leader of literary enterprises, but *not* so well fitted for the harsher stage of politics. Truly fate should have carved out for him a milder destiny. His mind was formed with rare natural endowments to instruct and guide his countrymen. He knew their wants, their weaknesses, their rights, their feelings, their inmost nature. Every shade of the Irish character—if a Saxon may say so—was reflected within him. He reverenced the strength and depth of that rich Celtic temperament, he bewailed its weaknesses, he devoted every fibre of his soul to its service. And if the exigencies of the time had been less awful; if the absence of everything like government in the country had been less complete; if the social ruin by which he and every man in Ireland is surrounded had been less universal; if the times had not been such as to drive wise men mad, and to push them upon desperate schemes for remedying that which was utterly unendurable—he would doubtless have clung, with all the tenacity of his disposition, to a literary life, and would have left the active pursuit of politics to men of broader constitutions and temperaments.

"As it is, he has rendered services not unimportant to Irish literature. He has done, in the first place, more to raise the character of the

newspaper press in Ireland than any man now alive. In that important department he has produced a new era;—*he*, we say it emphatically, for it was he who founded the *Nation*, collected together the men by whom it was originally established, and, by his admirable management and skill in the discernment of character and capacity, upheld it in spite of very serious defections to the last. Ireland had no such paper before his time: it has none such now. But the taste for a journal like the *Nation*, overflowing with ability of every kind, uniformly directed by the purest motives, and appealing to none but the loftiest sentiments —this taste has been created by him, and will not, one would think, be allowed to die. In this one department he has done more than any other living man to call out in every corner of the nation hopes of better things, and to stimulate honourable exertions. . . .

"In other departments of literature, what he has done has been rather a good beginning than the completion of anything. Too soon the wild hopes, of which we see the temporary result, drew him from that more peaceable course in which he had delighted to labour, and was the support and help of many whose direction came from himself. . . . Now, it is Charles Gavan Duffy, such as we have described him from personal knowledge, whom the Solicitor-General during Mr. O'Brien's trial has thought fit to hold up, to the best of his poor ability, to universal abhorrence as a wretch

in speaking of whom all decency of language was to be laid aside, and who, though not yet proved guilty, but awaiting his deliverance at the hands of jurors whom the same Solicitor-General is to pack, is fit only to be bespattered with the foulest and most abominable abuse."

This man (Hatchell was his name, now forgotten) had spoken in this wise:—

"For Mr. O'Brien he felt sincere and deep regret. He wished that unfortunate gentleman had not listened to the diabolical tempter (Gavan Duffy), who was luring him on to the terrible precipice on which he stood."

Mr. O'Brien himself protested against this language, especially in the absence of Mr. Duffy. The *Tablet* continues: "The gross and wanton unmanliness of this behaviour is positively shocking. In England we have had nothing so bad, except perhaps under Charles II., since Coke denounced Sir Walter Raleigh as 'a damnable atheist, a spider of hell, the most vile and execrable of traitors.' Mr. Hatchell does not produce such an accumulation of epithets, does not show such a richness of phraseology, partly, perhaps, from the barrenness of the man's nature, and partly because the comparative smoothness of the times is unfavourable for such a display. As for Mr. Duffy, it matters little to him what such creatures think, say, or do. They can banish his body, but they cannot degrade his mind; they cannot make his prison ignominious; they cannot

fix shame upon him; they cannot prevent him shining out more nobly by contrast with themselves."

Writing under cover to Duffy in prison on the 17th of October 1848, Lucas says:—

"You know how I differed from you on the question of prudence, but taking, as I did, the obviously safe side, I have often said to myself that I should be glad to be sure of the perfect disinterestedness of my course, as I was of yours."

And again, referring to Hatchell's attack:—

"Gracious Heaven! when one thinks who prosecutes and who is prosecuted, it takes off something from the edge of the relish for worldly prosperity. There is something better, even in this world, than being Attorney-General or Solicitor-General, or Lord this or the Earl of that—or the deuce is in it."

And again:—

"To be in disagreement with you, and just when such great troubles were coming upon you, has been more painful than I can describe. . . . Have you heard from Carlyle? He always speaks most kindly of you, and took down John O'Hagan's address to write to you under cover to him."

Towards the end of November the same year Lucas contemplated the possibility of a removal to Dublin and the establishment there of a paper to appear thrice weekly. He seems to have felt all but confident that the prosecution would fail and Duffy be released; for on the 27th of that month he wrote asking for information as to the probable expenses, circulation, and advertisements of such a paper; and after referring to something

that had passed between Duffy and himself about the above-quoted appreciation of the prisoner's character, Lucas proceeds :—

"My picture of you included politics as essential; but I stick to my notion that to lead a party, or rather a nation, through fire and blood, requires a harder, harsher, and less sensitive nature than you are blessed with. It needs a man of iron, which you are not. Something far more commonplace would do the work much better."

And then he asks :—

"If you escape, could we yoke together in any way? or are our lines so widely separate and our pretensions so exclusive that nothing of this kind would be feasible? I don't think we should quarrel, at all events. You are a guarantee against that."

Nothing came of the suggestion. Duffy, having remained in prison ten months, was liberated after three abortive attempts to secure a conviction.

Before the trials were concluded some articles on the rights of jurors in trials for seditious libel appeared in the *Tablet*. These set forth not only the law as it stands now, but a history of Crown prosecutions for libel. Lucas alleges that till the passing of Fox's Act it had always been a moot-point among the lawyers whether in these cases the interpretation of the law lay with the judge or with the jury; and further, that the presiding judges had invariably claimed the right of declaring the law, and as invariably had decided in favour of the Crown. Fox's Act set the matter

at rest, and Lord Campbell remarks:[1] "We have now the best definition of a libel"—"a publication which, in the opinion of twelve honest, independent, and intelligent men, is mischievous and ought to be punished." The discussions on the subject are set forth in Lord Campbell's "Life of Erskine." This volume was published in 1847, and the articles in the *Tablet* indicate the course of Lucas's reading at the time. But he was not content merely to copy Lord Campbell. He certainly puts both the rights and the duties of juries in a definite and popular form; and I think his observations on the subject give the key to his judgment on some unpopular verdicts in criminal cases, wherein he defended the juries from the charge of perjury.

In the spring of 1849 Lucas removed from Pembroke Square—where he had lived since his marriage—to a house (as he tells Duffy in a letter dated the 9th of April) "about five minutes' walk farther from Ireland than before." The letter contains passages which will, I think, interest the reader. Some relate to personal, others to public affairs."

"To-day we have put the finishing stroke to our arrangements by putting my sanctum in order; and I hardly know how to hold my pen, having made my fingers sore with driving tacks into my private carpet and floorcloth. There's a domestic trait for you. . . .

"I don't know precisely what has been said in the *Tablet*

[1] "Lives of the Lord Chancellors." Lord Camden. Vol. v. p. 350, 1st ed.

about Roman affairs, from which you dissent. My faceache incapacitated me for some time; for two weeks I wrote nothing, and read very little of what was written by others. . . . There may, therefore, have been things written with which I do not wholly agree. What I have written about Rome, Dr. Carlyle,[1] though complaining of its violence of expression, voluntarily confided to me—in a note I received from him—as being, in the main, the net result of his experience during some years' residence in that place, and practical acquaintance with high and low as a physician."

Lucas then proceeds to discuss the maintenance of the temporal power as follows:—

"As to foreign interference, I am as averse to it as you; but when we come to the extreme right, I consider that Catholic Christendom has rights in the matter which are not to be overlooked. The Pope must be either a subject or a sovereign; and, if no adequate provision can be made for his independence otherwise than by keeping him sovereign of a small district like the Papal States, Catholic Christendom has as much right to maintain him there as Congress in America would have to resist an insurrection of Washingtonians against President Tyler or Polk. Political rights are not abstract, but practical, and extreme cases require extreme rules. In this case, the overwhelming necessity is the independence of the Head of the Church; and until a better method of enabling him to exercise his functions in peace and full liberty can be devised, the patrimony of St. Peter must be maintained in the long-run by all practicable means. In comparison with the rights of the Church in this matter, I think no more of the rights of the Romans than I think of the rights of a dozen of oysters when I am hungry."

It was in 1849 that Macaulay published the first volumes of his "History of England." Lucas began a series of critiques on them in which he

[1] The brother of Thomas Carlyle and the translator of Dante's *Inferno* into prose.

showed their unreliableness. He was prevented from continuing the reviews by the faceache mentioned above, an interruption recorded in the same letter thus :—

"My Macaulay inflammation has been for a time removed by a counter-irritation in the left jaw, and by the process of moving. Thank Heaven I am now 'to rights,' so that perhaps the fever may revive. I have a good deal more to say, and offered to review the book in the *Dublin*, but this was engaged by Dr. Russell, which I am glad of for the sake of the Irish part of the subject. I don't believe a single character in the book is truly drawn. James, I am sure, is not; Halifax is grossly false, &c. &c. &c. Neither do I believe in his third chapter, I mean in the facts of it, setting the philosophy of it aside as altogether contemptible. For instance, what is the use of comparing wages of farm-labourers now and then, without adverting to the fact that in the earlier period half or three-fourths of what are now farm-labourers were farmers, and that the rise of a labourer to the condition of a farmer was within the bounds of possibility?"

Referring, then, to an article on Marlborough, which is the subject of the next chapter, he tells his correspondent :—

"In sending you my *Marlborough* (which I am glad you did not find heavy, as I feared), I did not mean to poke fun at you; but, if I had published it as a pamphlet or book, and you were still at Merton, I should certainly have dedicated it to you, as the author of all the little military knowledge I possess."

In conclusion, he expresses the wish to get over to Ireland :—

"If I could at all make it practicable, I would see you in Dublin; but that which is impossible can't be, and very seldom comes to pass."

CHAPTER XXVII.

MILITARY STUDIES—ESSAY ON MARLBOROUGH.

THE interest in military affairs which had been aroused in Lucas's mind by the insurrection in Ireland of 1848, was increased by the publication in the same year of Alison's "Military Life of the Duke of Marlborough," of a new edition of "Coxe's Memoirs," and of some further portions of the "Aide-Mémoire," before referred to. The reading of these led to a still more complete study of the history, the art, the practice, and the usages of war. The immediate result was an article which appeared in the March number of the *Dublin Review*, 1849, entitled "The Duke of Marlborough—Usages of War." The latter part of the article concerned the conduct of the troops under Marlborough and Wellington, and the general theory of making war support war. This had a very practical bearing on the question of the National Debt, and would seem to be of unabated interest at the present day, when the burden of taxation weighs more heavily than ever upon the country. A copy of the article was sent to Sir William Napier, the author of the "History of the Peninsular War." From him Lucas received

a letter couched in very flattering terms. In this Sir William said he should have thought it almost impossible for a civilian so completely to have mastered the theory of war. This was high praise, coming as it did after Alison's two works, in which that writer exhibits the results of his peculiar study of military affairs. Later in the year, while the contest between Austria and Hungary was progressing, Lucas determined to test the real value of his studies by applying his theories to the military movements of the two parties. This he did in a series of articles in the *Tablet* which will form the subject of the next chapter. Here it will be sufficient to say, that he had the satisfaction to unravel the thread of contradictions and self-contradictions which made up the staple of the reports of the *Times* and other journals; so that while they were predicting a proximate Hungarian success, he pointed out that the Hungarians were beaten, and that the war was on the point of terminating.

Lucas's study of the campaigns of Marlborough, not the mere history of them as they affected the course of events at this time, but the military meaning of each stage in the operations themselves, was very characteristic. He was not content to know that "in twenty campaigns, ten of which were successive, Marlborough passed all the rivers and lines he attempted, took all the towns he invested, won all the battles he fought, and was never surprised by the enemy."

He was "anxious to know not merely that a certain commander was a great general, but *why* he was so."

To arrive at this, in addition to the books already mentioned, he studied Murray, Sir J. F. Jones, Napier, Lloyd's "Seven Years' War," the "Life of Marlborough," written by Madgett at the command of Napoleon, General Kane, Ramsay's "Turenne," De Quincey; and then, when he came to consider in detail the "usages of war," details which, he says, bear largely on the causes of success, and somewhat on the comparisons to be drawn between different systems and different commanders, he was not content even with military historians and writers like Maxwell, Siborne, Gurwood, and Vauban;[1] but Vattel, Defoe, Farquhar in the "Recruiting Officer," Swift, Steele, Gay, Doddridge, Sterne's "Uncle Toby," the *Westminster Review*, the *Examiner*, the Stuart Papers, and what more we know not, were pressed into his service. This enumeration affords a striking example of a remark made by Mr. Ornsby, and which will be found in the last chapter of this work.

Lucas begins by considering the art of war as practised in the eighteenth century by Frederick the Great. He takes a saying of Jomini, who declares (the unanimous verdict of Europe notwithstanding) that Frederick was only great as a commander by comparison with the small fry by

[1] In the "Biographie Universelle."

whom he was opposed, and that an ordinary general of our times would have crushed him and seized Prussia. Hereupon Lucas remarks: "Thus writes the great military critic of our age, and when instructed professional judgments can in ten years thus fluctuate with regard to an art which, in its main features, is admitted to be stationary, which is the same in substance under Hannibal and Cæsar as under Napoleon and Wellington, what security can a civilian feel in his unprofessional guesses after truth?" The question then arises—

"Is Marlborough's reputation another instance of exaggeration? Is the manor of Woodstock, not merely in its present keeping, but in the very source and origin of the grant, a quackery and a sham? Was Marlborough, too, only Gulliver among the Lilliputians, and did he seem great only because his antagonists were dwarfs? The loudly expressed verdict of his own times was very different, and in various ways succeeding generations of Englishmen have made known that they still feel it right to be proud of the only military reputation pretending to the highest grade that we have to show between Cromwell and Wellington. . . . But a suspicious mind would hardly be satisfied with this tacit English complacency." He therefore proceeds to his investigation, and observes that Jomini seldom mentions Marlborough. When he does so, he speaks of him in the same breath with Eugene and Turenne, *contrasting*

them all with Frederick. On the other hand, he speaks of "Cæsar and Scipio applying the true principles of war, *as well as* Marlborough and Eugene, *not to say better.*"

Madgett, in words which Lucas judges to have fallen from the lips of Napoleon himself, speaks of Marlborough as "a soldier truly original, whose knowledge was gained less in the school of Turenne than in his own thoughts and actions; a man of creative genius, without a model for his achievements; born a general, as others have been born poets." In comparing our two great Dukes, Napoleon prefers Marlborough. Napier gives the preference the other way, since "he defeated greater warriors than Marlborough ever encountered." Lucas, while admitting that Villeroi was not "an able and determined general," as Alison describes him, yet tries to hold the balance even between the Dukes till some competent military critic shall, after a fuller investigation, finally decide. He doubts if the exploits of either afford an adequate measure of what they were able to do.

"Wellington said he could, with such troops as his, go anywhere and do anything. Of Marlborough, who came, not *after* Napoleon, but *before* him, and who created his own art, the same thing seems true." Wellington had many greater difficulties to encounter in want of provisions and inferiority of force. But "at all events, he was the commander of his own troops, the author of

his own campaigns. He had not to take the command day about with some Louis of Baden. 'The first element of success in war,' says Napier, 'is that everything should emanate from a single head.' [Now] whatever Marlborough did, he accomplished it *wanting* that first element of success, and he must be judged accordingly. Wellington found himself in a like case once in the Peninsula, and he vowed it should never happen more. Marlborough was so hampered through the whole war." Then comes one of several comparisons between these great men, in a passage of considerable power.

"Wellington, we suppose, did greater things in the field, but it may be doubted whether he could have succeeded so long as Marlborough in keeping together a confederate army and confederate courts; whether the *Iron* Duke could have done it; whether there were not required a greater pliancy of temper than the Iron Duke has been famous for. Signal indeed are the resemblances between them in the possession of that indomitable fire and spirit of enterprise, beneath a calm and composed exterior; that inexhaustible patience, fitting them to wear down all obstacles by stubborn endurance, and to untie the most complicated knots; that wonderful self-possession, both as to means and ends, which rendered them masters of all shifts of fortune, ready to turn in every direction, according to the necessities of the occasion; and, though loving the highest flights

of enterprise, yet at a moment able to descend from these to the humblest occupations of a more limited and ignoble warfare. Both were English to their heart's core, subduing the most buoyant and indefatigable energy under the mastery of the clearest good sense and practical wisdom. Yet, as we have said, it may be doubted whether Wellington could have kept the coalition together as Marlborough did. The first was all but hooted out of Spain when his great services were rendered and he was in the height of his glory; the second, though fallen, broken, and in exile, was received by the phlegmatic Dutch with enthusiastic gratitude and marks of touching devotion. To keep together the European confederacy of that day needed something else than *iron*.

"There is another point, one of contrast, between the Dukes. Waterloo, Wellington's last great battle, was fought when he was forty-six. Marlborough's great military career *began* only when he was full fifty years of age; when his eyes were so bad that 'I do not see what I do;' when he is habitually 'mad with headache;' has a 'continual fever on his spirits that makes him very weak;' is troubled with 'cold fits of ague and with gout;' has become 'so lean that, if not well nursed in the winter, I shall certainly be in a consumption.' Yet with all these ailments, he contrives to be, at a stretch 'seventeen hours on horseback.' Another time he marches, fights, pursues his victory, is on horseback for two-and-thirty hours,

and then dismounts to fill a quire of paper with his correspondence. . . . And he had to manage at the same time Dutchmen, Prussians, Hessians, Electors, Kings, Queens, Emperors, English Whigs, English Tories, and above all the Duchess of Marlborough. . . .

"The slander runs that Marlborough dragged on the war from year to year for the base motive of putting money in his purse. We should like to have military authority for this. . . . What seems clear to the present writer is, that if Marlborough had been really, as well as nominally, generalissimo, the war would have ended, not in ten years, but in three; and that without Marlborough the high allies would, on the whole, have endured a disgraceful retreat, Prince Eugene notwithstanding."

Then the reviewer gives a graphic account of the progress of Marlborough from the Hague, which he left on the 5th May 1704, crossing the Meuse, the Moselle, the Rhine, the Suabian Alps, and the Neckar, on his way to the Danube and Blenheim, where he fought his great battle on the 2d of August. And he remarks: "Historians tell us with wonder how, on the 1st of September, Napoleon broke up his camp on the heights of Boulogne, set in motion eight corps under as many marshals, by various routes through France, Flanders, and Northern Germany to the Danube; swallowed up Mack at Ulm; then marched against the combined Austrian and Russian army

at Austerlitz; overwhelmed them with the loss and slaughter of 30,000 men, and dictated terms to his prostrate enemies in a hundred days.

"Napoleon's march was with his own troops, whom a nod from him sufficed to set in motion. That of Marlborough was the march of allies, tricked by degrees into carrying out a plan with the secret of which they were not intrusted; coming from various quarters, with orders from different sovereigns; troops under three generals; the command divided on alternate days with Prince Louis of Baden, who had at last to be sent off (to Coventry) to besiege Ingoldstadt with a detachment of 20,000 men; and yet, in the course of a hundred days, Marlborough too had drawn the confederated troops from the Meuse to the Danube; cut to pieces the flower of the Bavarian army on the Schellenberg; routed the allied French and Bavarian forces at Blenheim, with the loss and slaughter of 40,000 men; emptied every garrison in the Electorate; dethroned the Elector; and made a peace by which, in that part of Europe, the war was finally extinguished. . . .

"Whatever the exact value of such an exploit, it cannot be said that to strike such a blow at his own risk was like labouring to prolong the war."

In estimating the military character of the Duke, Lucas takes into account both the system of war prevailing in the age of Louis XIV. and the tactics by which Marlborough won his battles, and proceeds to show that both in one and the

other he was not only superior to the principles of his time, but that he preceded Napoleon himself in the very thing which is always spoken of, and truly so, as the central Napoleonic idea applied both to strategics and to tactics. Moreover, he points out that the battle of Blenheim was won by a disposition of troops in direct violation of one of Napoleon's principles. It would appear that the above quotation from Madgett is in no way an exaggeration.

"Military critics contrast the system of war under Louis XIV. and Frederick the Great with that which the French Revolution inaugurated and Napoleon carried to perfection. They call the first 'a war of positions,' and the last 'a war of vigour.' 'By the system of positions is understood,' says Jomini, 'the old way of making a methodical war, with armies under canvas, living from their own magazines and bakeries, watching each other, one to besiege a place, and the other to cover it, one seeking to get possession of a little province, the other offering resistance by positions said to be impregnable—a system which was generally followed from the Middle Ages.' This system was in the flower of its strength in Marlborough's age. . . . So much was this the case, that Marshal Saxe, who fills up the gap between Marlborough and Frederick, derides battles 'as the resource of ignorant generals; when they don't know what to do, they give battle.'

"The composition of armies was affected by this system, and influenced it in its turn. The proportion of cavalry to infantry was enormously greater in those days. In 1812 Napoleon had about 24,000 horse to a quarter of a million of foot; at Blenheim, Marlborough had the same number of horse to 33,000 foot; at Salamanca, the proportion on both sides was 40,000 foot to 5000 horse; at Ramillies, the same number of foot to 20,000 horse."

The difficulty of moving rapidly to an attack or at all with the magazines and forage requisite under that system was very greatly in excess of the modern Continental practice.

"Now if, as it is said, no really great soldier ever carried on a merely defensive war, one would like to have Marlborough's campaigns professionally examined, that we might know how far he rose above his age. His battles and tactical operations were essentially offensive; he always attacked, always kept himself ready to attack, and rarely hid his men behind trenches, to destroy their mobility and damp their courage. When he did otherwise, it was by compulsion, as at Lille, where the French would not attack, and the Dutch would not let him attack. . . . Perhaps it will not be thought presumptuous if we venture to cull from Blenheim and Ramillies two illustrations which we have not seen noticed, and which present some interest even to the unlearned reader.

At Frederick's great battle of Lissa or Leuthen

in 1757, he, by a great demonstration on the Austrian right, deceived them so long, that the King had time to bring his whole army on their left. Lloyd calls the manœuvre "sublime." This, says Lucas, is, with a verbal alteration, an exact description of the battle of Ramillies. The Duke was anxious to destroy the French household troops, and for this he said he would oppose "six to one," being persuaded that the whole battle depended on that; and he accomplished his object. If, then, Lissa is a sublime lesson in military skill, why not Ramillies?

The other point to which Lucas refers is this. Napoleon's criticism on the English position at Waterloo is well known. It was deficient, he said, in one of the main points to which a good general pays attention. The English army, with a wood in its rear, had no possibility of retreat if it was defeated. But when Napoleon, "a warm admirer of that great man" Marlborough, expresses his surprise at the studied neglect with which "the hero of Blenheim had hitherto been treated by French historians," it is rather curious to remember that Marlborough and Eugene placed themselves at Blenheim with a wood in their rear, and that this very wood saved the day.

But if Marlborough was so great in tactics, was he equally so in strategics? Frederick, judged by Napoleon to have been a supereminent tactician, was, if we may believe Jomini, utterly worthless in strategics. "Can the same be true

of Marlborough?" Replying to his own question, Lucas says:—

"If it be true that Blenheim 'was one of the most perfect efforts of military science,' how can it be true that his strategics were deficient in originality? That he only once broke through the pedantry of rules, namely, in 1708, when he proposed to leave Vauban's strong places behind him and strike at the heart of France, is hardly consistent with this eulogy of the Blenheim campaign." Moreover, the close of the Blenheim campaign itself is a strong argument in contradiction. He had taken Landau and Trèves, with the intention of penetrating into the interior of France and striking at the heart, "and the next year might have finished the war under the walls of Paris," but for "German tardiness, princely jealousy, and Dutch circumspection. But though this great scheme was not executed, it was conceived and commenced; and, what is more, Marlborough was prepared to carry it out in spite of the deficiency of his magazines, relying mainly for the success of his operations on supplies to be drawn—a thing unexampled then—from the enemy's fields, villages, and towns."

So much did Marlborough regret the prevention of this plan, that after Ramillies (1706), which he considered a greater victory than Blenheim, he wrote to the Prince of Salm that a smaller advantage on the Moselle or Saar in 1705 would

have done more than this splendid victory. The plan thus rendered abortive opens the question, upon which its success must have greatly depended, namely, that of making an invaded country support the invading army while on the march—of "war maintaining war."

"We in England, with our usual want of consistency and disregard of logic, have defended and denounced, acted and refused to act, on the principle of making the loser pay. [We], the Government, the army, and the people, have decided that, were their posterity to pay taxes for it to Doomsday, war shall never be allowed to maintain a *British* war. We have not, it is true, as yet ventured to deny the doctrine that the conqueror in a just—that is, in a British—war has a right to exact costs from the defeated litigant. [But then] the Chinese silver 'in five waggons and a cart' lately escorted by horseguards to the Mint makes manifest our latest practice. This indeed is 'making war support war,' and, therefore, is not what English sentiment condemns. At the close of hostilities, through the forms of a regular treaty, you may make 'war support war.' But during the continuance of war, in the midst of a campaign, by the agency of your own officers or constrained local authorities, to support your troops or replenish your military chest, this, it seems, is not allowable; this England condemns with her whole soul; this is French, Jacobinical, revolutionary, Corsican, wicked, an invention

practised by none but fiends in human form; and the opinion that it is right to do so is a theory which involves, according to Maxwell, 'a terrific outrage on moral principle.'"

In the Waterloo campaign the Duke did follow the way of requisitions, paying for what was taken, since France was a friendly country. But Blucher "imposed severe exactions along the whole line of march;" and in India Wellington himself levied a contribution on the town of Burhampoor, as a likely mode of distressing the enemy, and, when called to account, defended the practice.

At the time of Marlborough, the system generally in vogue was that referred to above, of carrying stores, bakeries, and the rest, with the invading army. Marlborough's real innovation consisted in his throwing over, or readiness to throw over, the slower, more cumbrous, confused, and timid methods he found in fashion, trusting to what he could find in the enemy's country. But the practice itself of imposing requisitions, plundering, burning, and filling depôts with stores taken by force, was universal at that time, and has been so ever since.

Both in France and Bavaria Marlborough carried the practice to excess, burning and pillaging in all directions. In one campaign he burned 300 towns, villages, and castles. But he was not considered a harsh man. A century passes over; a great race of soldiers springs up—the French revolutionary and Napoleonic—who, with

whatever abuses, make war in the main on the old principles; when lo! a new moral sense, sharpened by partial rancour and quickened by national revenge, fastens upon them for so doing and judges them with ignorant severity.

I shall conclude this chapter with some quotations, rather long, but full of interest.

"Mr. Alison remarks, to the honour and glory of Wellington, that in his addresses to his troops he invariably appeals to duty, and never to glory; while Napoleon invariably appeals to glory, and never to duty. Between the two Dukes one may make a cognate distinction not less noteworthy. *Our* Duke speaks of duty, but never of God or religion. To be sure he treats, now and then, of chaplains as part of the army establishment; he mildly allows 'psalm-singing' to be 'in the abstract perfectly innocent,' though it may degenerate into 'an abuse;' and the memoir writers rarely fail to put into his mouth, on all suitable occasions, the sounding expletive, 'By G—d.' Beyond such an occasional notice as this, *our* Duke does not seem to have much concern with religion in the management of his army, nor does he provide any tolerably effective substitute for this powerful moving force. The 'duty' which he enforces is of rather a cheerless kind. It is the duty of marching hard, living hard, fighting hard, storming hard, being shot at a stipulated price, and then priding yourself on having performed your share of the bargain.

The contract fulfilled on both sides, there is an end of the matter.

"Queen Anne's Duke was of a very different temperament. Infinitely inferior to Wellington in high principle, lofty sentiments of honour, and detestation of meanness, he had, so to speak, a larger surface of character. Below the surface all was as hard as the rock—a firm, compacted, well-knit, vigorous organic selfishness, without crack or flaw of any kind, except perhaps an exaggerated avarice, which crept upon him with the infirmities of old age. Underneath was the hardness of iron; but on the surface was a gay and smiling vegetation, refreshing by its fragrance, and very pleasing to the eye. The most finished grace of manner; a certain royalty of deportment, smiling, majestic, attractive, commanding, but not inspiring too much awe or fear; a real superficial good-nature; a certain skin-deep sensitiveness of temperament, which enabled him to read the thoughts and feelings of others, and adjust himself to the knowledge so acquired; a love of decorum in all things, and therefore a dislike of the profligate excesses which marked many of his contemporaries; a mind made up, too, of the various political tendencies of his own time, touching them on all sides of him, answering to them all in turn, but not unduly occupied or subdued by any; acting vigorously, but with as little friction as possible; having many enemies made for him by circumstances, by injudicious

friends, by successes that rendered him formidable, but making few enemies himself; chastising the French, humbling their pride, ravaging their country, but greeting them with smiles and courtesies, comforting their prisoners, winning them by professions of good-will; upholding the 'Protestant interest' throughout Europe, but smooth to priests and nuns, humble to the Archbishop of Cambray, tolerant even of Irish Papists; a Tory, but moderate and inclining to many Whiggish sentiments and connections; a Whig, but not bound up with the party, until a torrent which he could not resist forced him to make one with their company; among sovereigns and states of Europe, all things to all men that he might gain them all; and, finally, bringing to the management of his army these qualities in their full development, order, method, economy, kind treatment, sweetness of nature to persuade, authority to overawe; his plans known to be great, beyond the censure of common minds; his care and forethought known to extend to the minutest details of the soldier's comfort and the exigencies of the campaign; superintending the impartial distribution of plunder, watching over the baggage and bread waggons as he watched over his own purse and perquisites; as much as he could impregnating his soldiers and officers with the thin decoction of religious sensibility which coursed through his own veins; and, in a word, neglecting no means which a supple, subtle, strong, various, and har-

monious nature could bestow on him to rule over the wills and affections of his troops."

As to the religion in the army, Lucas says: "To be sure, Swift—the most intrepid liar whom political controversy, fertile of such progeny, ever brought forth—a doubtful witness, relates that 'two young gentlemen of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of causes and effects, and by mere force of mental abilities, without the least tincture of learning, having made a discovery that there was no God, and generously communicated their thoughts for the good of the public, were some time ago, by an unparalleled severity, and upon I know not what obsolete law, broke for blasphemy.' He goes on to excuse the general for this 'high strain of absolute power' by suggesting that he may have been afraid of giving offence to the allies, 'among whom, for aught we know, it may be the custom to believe in a God.' The fact is, Marlborough's despatches are full of religion; and not merely his despatches, but his private letters, especially to his wife. He always professed to look for success from 'the particular blessing of God.' He received the Sacrament before the battle of Blenheim, and said of himself 'that he believed he had prayed more that day than all the chaplains of the army.'"

So far as to Marlborough; but "one other point deserves particular attention with reference to future wars. Can our rule—a rule supported with

a good deal of Pharisaism—can our rule of not making war support war ever become the law of the civilised world? Is it desirable that it should? Does any such rule actually exist beyond our very limited practice? We are inclined to answer all these questions in the negative. That the troops in a hostile country have a right to draw from it their subsistence without paying for what they take, is too obvious to need a word of proof. That most belligerents will continue to enforce this undoubted right of war seems also incontestable. That humanity would gain much by our transferring the expense of such wars as we may be engaged in from the hostile populations against which we may happen to wage war to our own citizens—in the shape of a huge National Debt payable for ever—is by no means clear. Spain, plundered by France—as English writers tell us—with the mixed ingenuity and remorselessness of fiends, has long since recovered that terrible devastation, which the grandchildren of the plundered know only by books or by tradition. Against us, on the contrary, with our humanity and purse-pride, the plunder of the French still continues; and, so to speak, has only just begun. We not merely hear and read, but feel their extortions to the present hour. That war carried on by subsidies, and loans, and huge payments of every kind, still sucks our vitals, wastes our substance, eats into our strength, sets us at feud one with another, and prepares the materials for future revolutions.

As far as money is concerned, it might have been cheaper for us—the present inhabitants of this island—if our ancestors had undergone ten years of French ravage, instead of taking such pains to ravage us for ever by the hands of the fundholder and the tax-gatherer.

"Somebody must pay for war; and if our war be just, why not the enemy now and at once, rather than our own people for ever? What is neither feasible nor desirable seems to us to be the abolition of compulsory contributions. What is desirable, and, as far as we can see, not unfeasible, is that contributions shall be so regulated as to produce the least amount of mischief. Why could not this be done by a revival in an improved form of the practice described by Vattel, eliminating from it those preliminary devastations which seem wholly unnecessary and in waste? Why not revive the practice of making treaties of contribution, with such preliminary stipulations as shall make mere plunder without a motive? Everything that softens the rigour of war will be eagerly sought out by every humane soldier and politician; and if England, instead of quixotically pursuing an unprofitable phantom, would seek after an improvement more in accordance with the nature of things, she might, we think, powerfully co-operate in rendering to poor humanity a very useful and reasonable service."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION—ARRIVAL OF CONTINENTAL REVOLUTIONISTS IN LONDON.

LATER in the year 1849 Lucas took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the Hungarian war to bring his knowledge of military affairs to a practical test, with the result which has already been mentioned, and which will appear in detail in the present chapter.

The history of the revolution in Austria in 1848 and 1849, and of the wars arising out of the same, is extremely complicated. It is only with infinite trouble, if at all, that it can be gathered from the journals of the day. The English people were given to understand early in the struggle that the Hungarian rising was an absurd affair, and the *Times* tried to laugh it down. Gradually, as the insurrection succeeded so far as to necessitate the calling in of Russian assistance, that journal veered round to the side of Hungary and against Austria; and finally, when the Hungarian generals were being discomfited on all sides, the *Times*, true to its character, and unwilling to run counter to the notion popular in the City, tried to mystify its readers in a way partly ridiculous, but wholly dishonest.

Down to May 1849 these transactions scarcely concern the readers of this memoir. The *Tablet* had of course reported such proceedings as came to its knowledge, but nothing very striking appeared from the pen of Lucas on the subject till the news of the Russian intervention was confirmed early in that month. Before that time the name of Kossuth had become very popular in England, and the impression, carefully propagated, was that the contest was one between Austrian tyranny and an oppressed people struggling to be free. Yet such was, in the first instance, by no means the case, as documents published in the *Tablet* sufficiently testify. The real state of the case, Lucas tells us, was this. The Magyars, towards the end of 1848, seeing the weakness of the Austrian Government, seized the opportunity to try to bring Croatia and Sclavonia under subjection with a view to creating a South Sclavonic kingdom. These provinces occupied in relation to Hungary a position similar to that which held Hungary to Austria. To counteract these designs, Baron Jellachich, the Ban of Croatia, in June 1848 called an extraordinary diet of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Sclavonia, and prepared to resist both Hungary and *Austria*. The Viennese Government, dominated by Hungarian leaders, accordingly denounced him as a rebel and commenced the war. But as on one side the designs of Hungary, both against these provinces and against Austria itself, and, on the other, the

loyal purposes of the Ban, developed themselves, Austria turned round, and the supposed rebel became the support of the Imperial throne. The Hungarians "took up arms not to vindicate ancient rights, and to maintain privileges or an independence that had been trampled on, but to overthrow an unoppressive Government in order on its ruins to establish, over the necks of unwilling provinces, a despotism which these latter in arms were resisting to the death."

In commenting on the progress of the war, the *Tablet* begins with some remarks upon the English mode of coming to conclusions on matters that do not immediately concern Englishmen. After observing that in this quarrel it is not easy "to apportion rigidly a judgment of praise or blame grounded on a complete and minute knowledge of the antecedents of the contest," the editor continues :—

"Englishmen are wont to pronounce dogmatically enough about other people's affairs, but out of ten thousand educated Englishmen, perhaps the opinion of one—not more—may be worth as much as that of an intelligent Esquimaux on our Civil War of 1642, formed after diligent cramming of Macaulay's articles in the *Edinburgh Review.* Your educated Englishman of the present day—your Anglo-Esquimaux—who, till the Hungarian contest aroused the attention of Europe, never heard of the Waag or the Theiss, is crammed with his magazine articles and scraps

of periodical knowledge; he has read *Fraser* and *Blackwood*, and other less recondite authorities, and knowing absolutely nothing about the characters of the leading men on either side, the antecedents of the parties, and the questions of public law, and very little about the public exigencies involved in the dispute, proceeds by a series of guesses to build up a final and conclusive faith, which must needs be as solid as the materials out of which it is formed."

Lucas, therefore, held in small esteem men, no matter what their temporary reputation, who proceeded upon the plan of forming their theory first, and finding their facts and arguments afterwards. He has told us already how little he believed in the political economists, even as regards their own science; but when any of them went out of their way to instruct the public on matters beyond their professed province, his lack of respect bordered on contempt. Thus, when, on the 23d of July, Mr. Cobden, in order to prevent the floating of a Russian loan in London, discoursed on Russian weakness, Russian want of resources, and Russian interference in Hungary, Lucas freely expressed his views. What the *Tablet* says in its issue of the 4th of August tells its own tale.

"Mr. Cobden, who, since the close of the Anti-Corn-Law cycle, has hardly opened his mouth, except to utter some grotesque absurdity, reached the climax of his performances of this kind by the

martial-pacific speech at the London Tavern, in which, for the sake of promoting peace, he stimulated his hearers to war with Russia, and to 'crumple up the Russian Empire in its dreary fastnesses as I crumple this bit of paper in my hand.'"

Cobden went on to ridicule the idea that Russia is a great power, saying she "has an army on paper without a commissariat, a navy without sailors, a military chest without a farthing in it;" and then he asks:—

"Why, how long is it since we first heard of this Russian invasion of Hungary? What progress has she made up to this time? Everybody knows that the difficulty Russia had to encounter was the difficulty of carrying supplies, the want of a commissariat, the want of money to buy a commissariat, want of roads, and the dishonesty of those engaged under the Government."

Lucas replied: "Russia then is a poor, weak, miserable Government, bankrupt and bed-ridden, unable to accomplish anything great in the way of war. For this vouches Mr. Cobden, who twenty years ago was 'behind the scenes,' and knows what he says to be true. But then Mr. Cobden had been behind the scenes at the end of 1847, and predicted a reign of universal peace just on the eve of the February outbreak which has brought into the field armies of 150,000 men a side. We always distrust what Mr. Cobden says, and especially when he has been 'behind the scenes.' We have not been behind the scenes, yet we don't believe a word of his story; but let

us confine ourselves to one fact." Lucas then points out that the demand for intervention was made probably the last week in April, and that in fifty-one days, that is, by the 17th of June, this bankrupt Government had distributed over a frontier of 800 miles, and had marched forward through wide and difficult provinces, an army of 150,000 men! He compares this movement with that of Sir Charles Napier, a man especially famous for the rapidity of his movements, whom it took fifty-eight days to collect in Scinde an army of 15,000 men. The *Tablet* exclaims:—

"What a shocking thing it is to see a man—pretending to much credit in the political world and enjoying some—giving utterance to this senseless gasconade, which can only proceed from an ignorance frightfully ludicrous in one who professes to have been 'behind the scenes,' or from something else which it would be uncharitable to suspect."

Coming then to the war itself, Lucas proceeds to exhibit his own theory of the operations and of their military meaning. Whatever may have been the case with other newspapers, the conduct of the *Times* was scandalous. I have reason to know that one gentleman who had been engaged by the managers to collate for them the Hungarian news was dismissed for declining to make the information received tally with the view it suited the *Times* just then to put forward.

This journal described the Russian strategy

as consisting in the investment of Hungary after the manner of a fortress. The Russian generals were said to be endeavouring to "enclose" and surround the Hungarians under Dembinski and Görgey, "and having left them no gap by which to escape, they were to fall upon them without mercy."

In the article above quoted Lucas wrote that this imaginary plan was open to the fatal objection that it left the Hungarians free to "attack the surrounding force in its weakest part, and having disposed of that, to repeat the operation. The plan of the Imperial campaign we believe to have been exactly the reverse of what has been supposed. Instead of surrounding them and driving them into the centre, the plan we think had been, in the first place, to keep each Hungarian division isolated, and then to penetrate into the centre of the country in order to hold them all separated, and with an overwhelming force to deal with them one by one."

He goes then into a detailed examination of the campaign so far as the news had arrived at that date. He believed that, with the immense forces at his command, Prince Paskiewitsch had succeeded in getting into the rear of every insurgent division of Görgey, Bem, Aulich, and Guyon, so as to be able to attack each successively in the rear while each had its own danger to contend against in front.

Meantime the Ban had received a severe check

in the south, having lost 700 men out of a small force of 7000. The *Times* spoke of his position as discouraging to Austria. But Lucas pointed out that by keeping a large insurgent force in the south he had rendered sufficient service for the present. He sums up his review thus:—

"The first act of the drama has utterly dislocated and broken to pieces the Hungarian arrangements, cleared the troops out of half Hungary, swept them on to new ground, and driven them to form new plans and new combinations. But taking Görgey's triumph (in a battle at Waitzen) at the highest, and putting the worst colour on the Ban's disaster, nothing but a succession of blunders can save the Imperialists from speedy triumph."

In the second edition of this same paper appeared an account, taken from the *Times*, of the "flight" of Görgey, in which that general was represented as going *over* Miskolcz, which was occupied by the Russians, to Tokay. This remarkable feat must have been, said Lucas, a "flight" in a double sense.

About this time he wrote to Duffy:—

"Either the majority of the newspapers or your humble servant is stark mad. Everybody talks about the successes of the Magyars, where I can see nothing but failures balanced by one success (Komorn), which, as regards the decision of the campaign, is probably not worth sixpence; and about Görgey's great strategic abilities, where again I can see only a total failure, which might and ought to have been avoided."

A week later it appeared clear that the Hun-

garians were not recovering their lost ground. General Haynau with the main Austrian army and Russian auxiliaries was marching towards Szegedin, the last stronghold of the Magyars on the Lower Theiss, with such rapidity that the Hungarians left their prisoners behind them. Paskiewitsch was in the north with 60,000 or 70,000 men in three divisions—Count Nugent south of the Danube, Jellachich in Sclavonia, and Clam Gallas in Transylvania, all acting in concert, while the Hungarians were scattered and unable to combine. Still they had their original numbers (some 165,000 men) intact, if indeed they were not increased by native irregulars, and there was hard fighting yet to be done. The *Times* thought, or pretended to think, they were the winners, and abused the Austrian Government accordingly, giving meantime reports of impossible marches, and battles that never were fought, on days when the same reports declared the combatants to be playing at hide-and-seek. A despatch of Prince Gortschakoff, giving a splendid description of the passage of the Theiss at Poroslo on 25th July, affords some idea of the desperate character of the fighting when it did take place. But the insurgents were out-numbered and out-manœuvred by the Austrians, Russians, and Croats.

By the 25th of August the Hungarians had surrendered to Paskiewitsch. This intelligence surprised almost everybody, especially those most interested in the event. And yet any reader of

ordinary intelligence (except Mr. Cobden, said Lucas) might have seen what was coming. "When the truth broke upon the sympathisers with Hungary, they were filled with amazement. The democrats in Berlin, deceived by English meetings, big talk, and the lies of their own friends, were 'overwhelmed with surprise' and did 'not believe a word of it.' At Vienna the quondam admirers of Görgey declared that he had been bought by Russian gold, and everywhere the democratic partisans could not understand how, with such a succession of admirable symptoms, the patient should have died."

Describing the war, Lucas remarks:—

"In the course of nine months we have every variety of fortune; infinite change of scene, the characteristic peculiarities of many races and great empires brought upon the stage, the dramatic interest which varieties of personal character lend to an historical drama; fierce ambitions, indefatigable energy, wild enthusiasm, gusts of popular passion blown to and fro and hurtling in factious and irregular commotion; gallant and dashing achievements without number, the most devoted heroism, the most patient endurance, the most savage vengeance, the most terrible chastisements; and over all the wild chaotic scene Fate brooding and beckoning on the overwhelming power of the Czar sternly to repress and compose the fray. A more striking and picturesque narrative can hardly be imagined than this admits of

being made, if the details of it be ever truly told."

It was through the intricacies of all these movements and events that Lucas found his way alone, and proved to his astonished readers how far from superficial had been his military studies. It was said, with perhaps too affectionate an exaggeration, that he would have made a great general.

While all this was proceeding, the French under General Oudinot were driving the Mazzini Triumvirate out of Rome. This was finally accomplished on the 30th of June, and the revolutionists not being allowed to land in Malta, came over to England, and were at once taken in hand by Lord Dudley Stuart, Cobden, Joseph Hume, Dickens, Douglas Jerrold, Thackeray, and a number of other gentlemen, who formed themselves into a committee to raise a fund for their support. Lucas commented on these transactions, exposed the designs of the Continental conspirators, and proved the true character of the refugees from their own words. The articles show what might be fairly looked for if they should ever be able to seize and hold any European Government. This forecast of the *Tablet* has since become fact in more countries than one.

CHAPTER XXIX.

REMOVAL OF THE 'TABLET' TO DUBLIN.

A TIME had now arrived when the removal of the *Tablet* from London to Dublin was determined on. The high Catholic principle with which the journal had been conducted for ten years had not succeeded in placing it on a secure footing in England. The editor felt no longer warranted in intrusting the *Tablet* itself and the interests it defended to the favour of the English Catholics.

A project was conceived of buying the *Evening Freeman*, to be conducted by Duffy and Lucas, in case the former should defeat the prosecution to which he was then subject. In May Lucas wrote to Duffy thanking him for the pains he was taking in the matter, and expressing a determination to go to Dublin in almost any case. He says, "Though I don't mean to do anything rash, I do mean to get over to Ireland by some means or other, unless the aspect of affairs very much changes." Negotiations proceeded slowly, and Lucas at times lost heart. He would even be willing to work under Duffy, on an adequate salary, for a daily Dublin paper, or for the *Nation*, when that paper should be resuscitated. He put

the *Tablet* for sale into the hands of an agent, remarking that though he was told it was worth a substantial sum to sell, yet a class paper could not be thrown down into Leadenhall Market like a hundred of hides.

Financial difficulties were the chief obstacle to the removal.

On the 12th of October he writes: "I mean to be out of the *Tablet*."

He had indeed reason to be disheartened. People on this side of the Channel not only complained of the tone of the journal and alleged self-contradictory faults against it, but they averred that too much of its space was devoted to Irish affairs; thus proving they did not so much as read the paper. For the fact was, that during the past year very little attention had been paid in its columns to Irish subjects. In the course of October Lucas made his arrangements, and on the 10th of November he announced his determination to remove to Dublin; remarking that he had of late discussed Irish subjects "perhaps less than any other London journal, [yet that] complaints had been so persisted in, that he had a sanguine belief that the greater space that would be devoted to these matters" hereafter would probably be "wholly unobserved" by the complainants.

In a later article he pointed out that English Catholicity formed too narrow a basis for the support of such a paper as the *Tablet* was or ought to be. The Irish, who were the strength of the

Catholic body in the Empire, were not content to be represented by a journal in London; and the moment a well-conducted Irish Catholic journal should be started in Dublin, and should have proved its title to confidence, that moment the bulk of its Irish circulation would be withdrawn from the *Tablet*, and a great part of the Anglo-Irish circulation also. "The *Tablet*, then, like a lame man on one wooden leg, would fall to the ground." Such being the case, he saw "no reason in making his bed upon a bag of powder for the temporary accommodation of men who will not help themselves."

Although Lucas "had been able to live on the profits of the *Tablet* in the worldly comfort he desired," yet, "even before finally deciding to try his fortune in Dublin, he had resolved to quit the London *Tablet* as unseaworthy and liable to founder."

Hopes were entertained by some that the removal would lead to the establishment of another London paper more to the taste of a certain class. To them he says:—

"Those who think that my departure leaves an opening for some cowardly, truckling, time-serving, twaddling Government hack, whose congenial business it will be to indite falsehoods and betray the Church, are respectfully informed that no such individuals have the slightest chance of success, and, if I can make good my footing in Dublin, I will undertake to keep the field as clear

of these pedlars and their packs as ever I have been able to do in London." And so he did.

Some of his friends on this side of the water anticipated from his removal certain prospects of elevation. Speaking of this one day at Kensington to the Provost of Westminster, he said, "Oh dear! they are very kind, but they little know me. If I had my own wish, I would retire altogether from this life of strife—give myself up to manual labour and study and prayer—educate my boy to the best of my power, and prepare for eternity."

The fact was, as Father Whitty told his friends at the time of Lucas's death, that "not even one of his advances into public life was his own doing. The undertaking of the *Tablet*, his transfer of it to Dublin, and his entrance into Parliament, . . . did not originate with himself. 'They were entirely the result of the wish and advice of others.' And the advice he always gave to the younger members of his family was to go where they were placed by those who had authority over them."

Book the Second.

LUCAS IN IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

IRELAND—CONTINUED FAMINE—FORMATION OF TENANT LEAGUE—SPEECHES.

THE move to Dublin broke, of course, the thread of many associations formed in London; but the warm reception Lucas met with in his new home did not estrange him from his old companions. Few men were ever more constant in their friendships than was Lucas. A letter which he wrote at this time to Mr. Riethmüller shows that neither distance nor lapse of time, nor divergence of views on fundamental subjects, could change him. I quote the letter at length from Mr. Riethmüller's biography.

"DUBLIN, *January* 1850.

"Your letter, old fellow, was most welcome in this land of exile, where, however, I comfort myself in a very jolly fashion. As far as I can judge, everything is going on well, and I certainly have had success so far. I mean that, from what they were in London, my subscribers have increased some hundreds, and are increasing. I had no end of troubles in moving, as you may imagine; but, thank God, everything has gone on well with me except in the *press-work*, and there my experience has been disastrous. However, I see even here a dawn of better hopes, and am not absolutely cast down even in that. What can I tell you in return for your budget of news? You don't care about Irish affairs, you wretched Saxon, and what others have I to write

about? I can say, How is Mrs. R——? Pray, give her my kindest regards. How are M—— and B——? Remember me to them all most kindly, and even tenderly. But when I have said that, what the deuce do you care about anything else I can tell you? Oh, I remember! I made a foray not exactly into England, but into Wales, last Monday, to meet and bring home Mrs. Lucas, who is now with Angelo [their son] and your humble servant at Kingstown. As I got to the Menai Strait first, I spent an hour or so in looking at the Menai Bridge. I had not much time, it was raining, and I had no guide, so I saw few details; but I went into the tube nearest the shore, which is constructed on a scaffolding in the very place where it is to remain. There I saw little boys of ten years old taking with pincers iron bolts red hot out of a fire outside the tube and on a level with the bottom of it, and with the greatest *nonchalance* flinging them to the top of the tube, apparently among a crowd of workmen, one of whom received the bolt and drove it in. The elements of the construction are all very simple, and I saw pretty nearly both what they were and what they will look like when put together. One line of tubes is complete across the Strait. Others I saw at a distance being made on the shore. Though not so elegant, of course, as the Chain Bridge, it is too far off to extinguish it, and has a peculiar character of rude sublimity which is not at all out of place. The Pyramids, I take it, are not at all handsome, and this is a much greater work than all the Pyramids put together or multiplied by a thousand."

Three months later he wrote again to the same friend:—

"KINGSTOWN, *April* 1850.

"I had been fearing to hear from you lest you should blow me to the clouds of the Antipodes for having kept silence so long, but the truly Christian tone of your letter reassures me, and, afraid of another mishap, I sit down at once to answer it as confidently as if I had never sinned. I have had no end of bother with printing, *i.e.* machining, and have never felt sure on Monday morning that the paper would really be

published on the next Saturday. I have had a run of bad luck in this way, which would have ruined inevitably a paper not yet tolerably established. In every other respect, I have had very good fortune—not *brilliant* fortune, but the kind of success that promises durability. I don't know that I have gone back in any respect; in many there is a decided improvement; there is a much greater opening for the future, and plenty of work to do of a kind that I like, and which I find I can do nearly as well as my neighbours. I am projecting, as an addition to the *Tablet*, a paper three days a week, which ought to bring in a considerable access of profit. You may perhaps see an announcement of this kind shortly in the *Tablet*.

"We have just got tiled-in in a house of our own here at Kingstown, and, allowing £12 a year for railway to Dublin, I pay for rent, rates, taxes, &c., about half as much as at Kensington. As the house really is comfortable and suitable, and as we have sea-air and most exquisite scenery within a shilling ride of us, besides seeing mountains out of our back-windows, I think this is not a bad basis to begin upon.

"We often talk of you, I promise you, and wish much to get back to London for a time to see our old friends. I want much to see old Mr. —— again. The old chap has nothing in the world to do; why doesn't he behave like a man, and come over here and spend the summer at a reasonable rate, instead of spending his money in your outrageously extravagant neighbourhood?"

Although Lucas fully intended, on removing to Ireland, to direct his attention nearly as much as before to the general interests of the Church, he was soon too much engrossed with Irish affairs to be able to do so. He found the people in a state of starvation, and a movement beginning in which ere long he became one of the chief actors—a movement for securing to the tenants the value of the improvements made by themselves in the soil.

People were beginning to say that if a man borrow money on security, and continue to pay his interest, all the lender can claim is the repayment of the loan; that however much profit the borrower may have realised by the use of the advances, the mortgagee has no title to a penny over the money lent and interest agreed upon; that no reason exists why the landowner should be on any better or other footing in this respect than the capitalist, and that as the value of land in Ireland had increased enormously through the labour and capital of the tenant, they were entitled, after payment of the original rent, to all such increase. This was the principle of Tenant-Right in Ulster, and a demand for the extension to the rest of Ireland of this custom, or of something similar in principle, was springing up all over the country.

The advocacy of so patent a piece of justice was not new in the *Tablet*, but no one had come forward to lead an agitation in its favour. Mr. Duffy had not long been released after the abortive attempts to convict him; so that when a movement did begin, the chief burden seemed for a time to fall naturally on Lucas's shoulders. The consequence was, that, till his return to Parliament, his time was very fully occupied in correspondence, interviews, and speech-making. The delivery no less than the matter of several speeches which he made during this interval was much praised at the time, and his words seem scarcely to have lost any of their freshness and interest at the present day.

That the reader may see what was the state of the society into which he found himself plunged, some particulars may be interesting and instructive.

The "Statement" prepared for the Holy Father, the last work of Lucas's life, contains a short account of landlord cruelties in the diocese of Ossory, and especially about the town of Callan—cruelties which forced the Bishop and clergy of that district to establish a society for the protection of the tenants. This account will be found in the second volume of this Memoir. In order to have a consecutive sketch of the Tenant-Right movement from its beginning, the reader should here turn to the part referred to. To have moved that portion of the chapter in question to this place would have destroyed the continuity of the argument enforced in the "Statement."

The year 1850 dawned upon a state of misery in Ireland less tragic than that of 1846–47, but a state in comparison with which that of 1879–80 was trifling. In the latter period, the distress was more or less restricted to certain districts, which, however, embraced nearly the whole of the South, and all the West except Sligo. In 1850 it was universal. Some idea may be formed of the condition of the country when it is mentioned that the workhouses contained for months together from 200,000 to 240,000 inmates.[1] Of

[1] On the 7th July 1849 the actual number was 221,583, and on the 27th April 1850 no less than 242,815. Immediately after harvest there had been a falling off to 140,266 (6th October), but the numbers began to increase again in November and December.

these, from 25,000 to 30,000, *i.e.* from 10 per cent. to 12 or 13 per cent., crowded the workhouse infirmaries. The weekly death-rate for more than a year averaged over 4 per 1000. In July 1849 it stood at 6.3, and in April 1850 at 5.1. The number of deaths from April 6, 1850, to April 26, 1851, was 53,189, or nearly 1000 per week; and during that fatal year no less than 1500 persons died in the wards of a single workhouse, that of Kilrush. But these figures show only a portion of the wretchedness. In the autumn of 1849 there was a sudden diminution of outdoor relief. To such an extent was it cut off, that whereas on 7th July 1849 the number of persons relieved amounted to more than three quarters of a million (784,367), in three months' time these figures had shrunk to less than one-eighth of a million (124,185); and a second period of three months saw the number of persons in receipt of outdoor relief reduced to less than a hundred thousand (95,443). This unlooked-for withdrawal of the means of subsistence could not but give rise to an appalling increase of the existing destitution. The period which immediately follows the harvest is, it is true, that in which distress is least felt; but the contraction of outdoor relief was continued through the winter and the following spring. One naturally inquires why, in the midst of such a crisis of suffering, the authorities should have determined on so sudden and so harsh a change? The chief cause

was, as we learn from the Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners, "the determined character of the struggle to establish the system of indoor instead of outdoor relief." In furtherance of this scheme, workhouse accommodation had been largely extended. The increased demand for relief indoors was, however, far in excess of the extra space provided. Many workhouses became overcrowded to an alarming extent. Some idea of the state of repletion can be formed from a report addressed on the 20th April 1850 to the vice-chairman of the Board of Guardians of Castlebar by Dr. Ronayne, who was medical officer to the Union. He reports that on Thursday night, the 11th of April, there were in one "ward" of the workhouse (a bath-room containing a boiler that emitted steam) a room 22 feet by 14, less the space occupied by the bath and boiler—136 persons. Among these were children screaming for drink, which was given them out of the boiler. There were no beds, straw, bed-clothes, or drinking water. Such was the indoor accommodation. The guardians wished to suppress this report, but it was sent to Mr. Poulett Scrope, and brought, with other similar facts, by him before the House of Commons. The reporter of the *Limerick Examiner* found in Kilrush Union 300 cases of starvation, the result of the sudden cessation of outdoor relief. He saw one man brought in literally naked, covered up in hay. The common com-

plaint on this side of the Channel was that the people were never satisfied. When Parliament met, the Queen's speech congratulated the House on the improved condition of the country, and informed the world that—

"Although the effects of former years of scarcity are felt in that part of the United Kingdom, they are mitigated by the abundance of food and the tranquillity which prevails."

Meanwhile, notwithstanding "the abundance of food," the tranquil people were starving; and the only prompt measure that suggested itself to Lord John Russell and the Whig Government for stopping the destruction of the population was a grant of £300,000 to certain insolvent Unions in Ireland. His Lordship even referred to the diminution of outdoor relief as a proof of the greatly improved condition of the people. The reduction during the twelve months from 27th January 1849 to 26th January 1850 had been, he said, nearly 80 per cent. (524,284 to 118,940). The vote was carried without a division; but on report, March 4, Mr. Scrope again came forward with some very damaging facts. He pointed out that in Scariff Union, for four weeks out of six no outdoor relief had been given; that the workhouse was so overcrowded that twenty-three inmates were seized with fever in one night. The state of affairs at Kilrush and Westport was, he said, as bad as at Scariff. The Irish papers teemed with reports of cases of

starvation all through the country. Lord John, however, declared that the Government did not intend to bring in any Bill for relief. Three days later, March 7, Mr. Scrope once more returned to the charge. Captain Kennedy, the Union inspector, had given him a terrible account of the state of Kilrush. No less than 11,500 persons had been suddenly refused relief. Many of these had walked fifteen or twenty miles to seek admission to the workhouse, and, on being refused, had to travel back again, often dripping wet, and without a mouthful of food. Mr. Scrope proposed a Commission to inquire and suggest a remedy. The Chief Secretary, Sir William Somerville, hoped Mr. Scrope would not press his motion. As for Lord John Russell, he "was appalled." At what? At the distress? Oh, no! At the poverty of the Unions? Certainly not! At the mortality from fever? By no means! At the deaths from actual starvation? Not at all! But at the bare suggestion that Government should, under any circumstances, take in hand "the management of those affairs which are usually conducted by individuals." Those are his words. Having the Free-Traders and pseudo-political economists to help him, and with the fear of the British taxpayer before his eyes, he was appalled at the idea of being asked to save the lives of mere Irishmen. Mr. Scrope's motion was lost by a majority of 13,—the number of those in favour of a continuance of starva-

tion being 76, while 63 members gave their vote against it.

How could it be otherwise? It was the class to which the landlords belonged, whose influence was most strongly felt in the press, in society, and especially in the House. I do not find any reliable statistics of the number of evictions effected during the years 1850–51; but a parliamentary return gives the number of processes served in the three years 1846–47–48 as respectively 19,704, 51,232, and 69,899. The number in Hilary term, that is, to the end of January 1849, was 19,833, or as many in one month as in the whole of 1846, before the famine.

Landlord inhumanity would have been, but for the experience of 1847, beyond conception. For instance, Lord Londonderry called a meeting of his tenants at Newtownards. He began by telling them that he would not hear a word they had to say. He had merely to inform them that, if they were not content to pay their present rents, he could afford to live without them; and that he could live on his English estates even though not one of his present tenants remained on his Irish property. He then tried to escape from the room, but the tenants forcibly detained him, and he put his fingers in his ears rather than listen to their complaints. A certain Colonel Wyndham evicted sixty-one tenants on the pretext of some outrage; 641 were evicted on the estate of a Mr. John Westropp. Lady Guillemore and two

military officers, Captains Tuthill and Dickson, evicted among them some 326 persons. Near Tuam, fifty families, say about 250 human beings, were thrown out by the Court of Chancery. There were 102 evictions on the Hertford estates. Mr. Bright stated in the House that one proprietor had made houseless 1025 individuals. It was the same throughout the country, and so it continued for the next two years at least. Early in 1852, I myself travelled through a great part of Ireland, North and South, and can bear testimony to the dreadful condition of large sections of the people. I saw in Kildare a family living in a ditch, with no shelter but that afforded by an old blanket stretched over some sticks that rested on either bank. In Dungarvan a poor woman was confined in an erection set up against the wall of a gentleman's garden; relief being offered only on condition that she would allow her children to be brought up Protestants. Between Londonderry and Coleraine children were running about literally naked; and one girl, of about twelve years, with a single garment not reaching to her knees. The whole landscape was studded with the gable-ends of houses that had been unroofed, in order that they might afford no shelter to the evicted tenants. The stones of the houses have since been made into walls which skirt the high-roads. Yet while all this was going on the land was going out of cultivation.

The landlords themselves complained of this;

their notion of a remedy for their own distress being a return to Protection. Of the starving tenantry they seemed to take no heed. Lord Clarina, supported by Sir Vere de Vere, the Knight of Glynn, the Rev. R. Dickson, and others, held a meeting at Limerick to urge on Government a return to Protection. At a meeting in the Dublin Rotundo, Lord Clements spoke of the heavy burdens on the land. He said that, in consequence, large tracts were lying waste. Similar meetings were held in many parts of Ireland. The allegation that the land was going to waste was frequently enforced in rather strong terms by the tenants who were present. They declared that it was perfectly true that the poor-rates and county cess were intolerable, but added, that the real cause was the enormous number of evictions of both tenants and labourers.

Such, then, was the condition of the Irish tenantry when Lucas established himself in Dublin. By the time Parliament opened, the state of things had become so alarming, that Government was compelled to do, or to pretend to do, something. A loud outcry, which began to be heard first in Ulster, was taken up and joined in by the men of the South. The proportions which the agitation assumed were so formidable, that a Bill was brought into the House by Sir William Somerville, the Chief Secretary. It professed to aim at securing to the tenant the value of the improvements made by himself or

his immediate predecessor in or upon the land. The proposed measure was thus summarised by Lucas in the *Tablet* of March the 2d :—

"In order that the rights of the landlord should not be interfered with, that is, that, though still at liberty to confiscate the tenant's improvements, he should have sufficient guarantees against lavish expenditure on the part of the tenant, the tenant must first serve notice on the owner of the soil; then wait twenty-one days; then apply to a Government inspector; then wait six days more; then have a searching inquiry into his plans; then get an inspector's award; then serve notice of the award on the owner of the soil, and get it registered; then wait thirty days more, if owner chooses to appeal; then wait till the Quarter Sessions next after the expiry of the thirty days; then attend before a local magistrate or assistant barrister; then fight a battle in the magistrate's court with a gentleman very much his superior in station and influence; then, if he gains the day, have leave to lay out his money; then, in pursuance of the leave, sink his capital in or on the soil under inspection of the owner; then wait six days more; then apply to the inspector for a certificate of his having spent his money as he ought; then wait six days more; then have his work examined, with vouchers and witnesses; then, if the inspector is not content, wait three months more to have defects rectified; then undergo another inspection; then receive a certificate containing a valuation of his improvements; then remain on the soil till the landlord chooses to turn him off; keeping, meantime, his improvements in repair by fresh outlays of money during the whole period of his tenancy; then, if he shall have been turned off his farm within twenty-one years, he shall undergo another trial before the inspector and another valuation. But if he shall have been allowed to remain in possession twenty-one years, keeping all the improvements in good repair, he shall be graciously allowed to turn out, bag and baggage, on the world, and leave behind him, as a forced tribute of gratitude and homage to the thief called Landlord, all the capital, property, buildings, and improvements which he has added to or placed on the soil."

This Bedlamite production embodied the English Government notion of redress for Irish grievances. Yet the question of compensation for improvements had been under discussion for many years. Fifteen years previously the *Quarterly Review* (December 1835) had admitted, in an elaborate article, that the legal owners of the soil, protected by an armed police, exacted impossible rents from a destitute tenantry, and "fearlessly asserted that there rested not so foul a blot upon the character of any other Government." And again, in 1842, when a certain Catholic landlord, one Scully—of whose family we shall hear more anon—was shot in Tipperary, the *Times* of December 7 attributed the condition of the Irish tenantry to the conduct of the landlords, and asserted that in taking his land the tenant had not the shadow of the character of a voluntary contractor.

It was the misery which the rackrenting and absenteeism, referred to by the *Times*, had made universal, that led directly to the great Repeal agitation of O'Connell. All these facts, and what follows, were brought to light in strong relief in the *Tablet*. Thus it was notorious that the land valuation, according to Arthur Young's calculation, shortly before the beginning of this century, was some six or seven millions, and that rents had by 1850 increased to upwards of £12,000,000; and it was well known, besides, that the Devon Commission, which finished its labours in 1845,

could not find more than a score of witnesses, out of the 1100 whom it examined, to say that this increase was due to any improvements made by the landlords. Nevertheless, this bill was the utmost that British ingenuity could devise towards the removal of evils which have been quite inadeqately described above.

Seeing the utter incapacity of the Government to grasp the whole position, it is no matter for surprise that meetings were called to demand redress. In reference to one of these, which was held in the County Down on 28th January 1850, Lord Castlereagh, in a debate on the above-named Bill, said, "It was painful to find that the Presbyterian clergy had taken the lead in this agitation," —an agitation, that is, for saving the people's lives. He told the House that, at the meeting in question—

"There were present sixteen clergymen belonging to the Synod of Ulster, and only one Roman Catholic clergyman. The Rev. Mr. Rutherford said that the whole difference between the value of the land in its present state of cultivation and in its primeval state 250 years ago was, beyond all contradiction, the inalienable property of the tenant farmers of Ulster. . . . The same reverend gentleman said at Comber that an estate belonging to a noble relative of his (Lord Castlereagh's) was purchased by the present owners at the end of last century for £30,000, having then a rent-roll of between £3000 and £4000. The rents now amounted to £24,000; and when the reverend gentleman asked who had caused this increase, the meeting responded by cries of 'The tenants.'"

Lord Castlereagh "was pained," and the House

sympathised with the laceration of his feelings; and yet they had before their eyes the fact that the population, which, with an ordinary rate of increase, ought to have stood at nine millions, was reduced to a little more than six and a half millions—two and a half millions gone in four years!

It was not till after many meetings had been held in the North that any *rapprochement* was made between Ulster and the South. On the 27th of April it was announced in the press that a deputation from Ulster had gone to London to see Mr. W. Sharman Crawford, the member for Rochdale, himself a large landowner in the North of Ireland, and the champion of the tenant-farmers in the House of Commons for many years previously; and that, in consequence of the interview with that gentleman, a combination was likely to take place between the people of the North and of the South, East, and West to secure the tenants' claims. Already had Tenants' Protection Societies been formed in many districts, the movement in the South having been inaugurated by Fathers Matthew Keeffe, and Thomas O'Shea of Callan. This commencement is, as before mentioned, detailed in the "Statement." A circular dated 8th May 1850, announcing a proposed conference in Dublin, was signed by Mr. Cantwell and Dr. Gray of the *Freeman*, Mr. Duffy of the *Nation*, Mr. Lucas of the *Tablet*, Mr. Greer of Derry, John Reynolds, and some others. During the

next three months meetings in preparation for the conference were held all over the country, and the correspondence in which Lucas was involved was very voluminous.

The result of this preparation and interchange of ideas was, that when two hundred delegates met in Dublin on the 6th of August and following days, the unanimity was complete, and the demands of the meeting were so formulated as to furnish a parliamentary party with a definite basis upon which to go to the House of Commons. The resolutions, in the drafting of which Mr. Lucas had taken a prominent part, were first submitted to a large public meeting (held in Dublin), by which they were enthusiastically adopted. One of the most important of these, and one on which Lucas placed very great stress indeed, declared—

"That our efforts will be ineffectual unless we have as representatives men of known honesty, who will withhold support from any Cabinet that will not advance these principles," *i.e.*, the principles laid down in the previous resolutions.

This was the beginning of what came to be afterwards known as the Independent Opposition in the House of Commons. In principle this policy had been, as the reader has seen, proclaimed in the very first number of the *Tablet.* Its practical application to parliamentary proceedings was alone new, and the necessity of binding candidates and members by strict pledges was very

strongly felt. As for Lucas, he had no great faith in the efficacy of these pledges. He knew that many of the sitting Members were corrupt and dishonest. The resolution, then, so far as he was concerned, was merely an effort, while asserting the determination to establish a third party in the House, to have promises enforced so publicly and so explicitly that pledgers should be ashamed to break them. The resolution was misrepresented after the usual British fashion.

That there was nothing revolutionary in the principles of the party is clear from the following proposals, made by Lucas, and carried at the conference :—

"That an equitable valuation of land for rent should divide between the landlord and tenant the net profits of cultivation, in the same way that profits would be divided between partners in any other business where one of them is the dormant partner and the other the working capitalist who takes upon him the whole risk."

And again :—

"That nothing should be included in the valuation, or be paid under the valuation to the landlord, on account of improvements made by the tenant, or those under whom he claims, unless these have been paid for by the landlord in reduced rent or in some other way."

Now, though the Rev. Mr. Rutherford and other speakers had anticipated Mr. Parnell in declaring that, in most cases and strictly speaking, the prairie value alone could be justly claimed by

the landlord, yet the League repudiated all notion of a greatly retrospective valuation. Though they had no respect for the theory of compensating periods, their great anxiety was to establish the principle of Tenant-Right, and to secure that the wrong should cease from that time forward, such reductions of rent being made as could be arrived at by arbitration. The method by which a fair rent should be ascertained was a valuation either by arbitration or by public officers; and the editor of the *Tablet* wrote that the conference "would not allow their resolute determination to secure right to the tenant to lead them into any step at variance with the plain dictates of justice." That they should be so led astray was indeed highly improbable, for not one of the leaders, and none less than Frederick Lucas, had any personal interest to serve in the agitation. The motives which actuated them were considerations of common humanity and common justice, intensified by the knowledge that the suffering population was altogether unable to help itself. The idea of plundering the landowners was very far removed from their minds. They were willing rather to submit to some injustice.

The Tenant League was formally constituted on the 10th of August 1850. It was understood that Parliament would be prorogued on the 17th of the month, and Mr. Shea Lalor was at once dispatched to London by the Council of the League. He was furnished with instructions,

drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose, and in particular with the heads of a Bill for the protection of the tenants during the coming year. The proposal was:—

"That valuers should be appointed to estimate the amount necessary for each tenant's family, together with labourers' wages, cost of seed corn, and other necessary expenses, with rates and taxes to which he was liable, and that the balance only should be recoverable for arrears of rent."

This does not strike one as very revolutionary, or as in any way confiscatory or savouring of Communism. The Irish Whig members, however, Catholic and Protestant, who were still in town, gave Mr. Lalor no encouragement, and would only introduce him to Lord John Russell on the distinct understanding that they could not support the proposed Bill; and so they told the Premier.

Then a letter stating the case of the League, drawn up and signed by Lucas, was sent to the *Times* and inserted in that journal.

The *Times* replied, saying that an owner in fee-simple might, if he pleased, let his land run to waste, or refuse to let it on any reasonable conditions, and that it would not be wise to permit the law to interfere with such irrational exercise of power over the land.

For some weeks the legal delays and details of organisation consumed the time and attention of the Council, which continued to sit almost

daily in Dublin. I do not find Lucas's name absent from the report of any sitting.

On the 24th August the *Tablet* expressed the opinion that the conference and the League had made a decided impression on the English public mind, official and unofficial. The editor thought that it would command attention in England; that never had any agitation greater omens of success at starting; and that failure could only come by extravagant rashness, sloth or blundering. He had not sounded then the depths to which treason, corruption, impudence, stupidity, self-interest and cowardice could go.

A week later a sub-committee was appointed by the Council to frame, by way of reply to the *Times'* article, a statement of a portion of the popular case. Lucas, who was chairman, prepared the document.

The letter itself, and the correspondence to which it gave rise, are interesting chiefly for the illustration they afford of the habitual want of candour with which Irish questions were treated by the leading journal.

In the first place, Lucas called attention to the gross discrepancy between the description of the conference as given in the *Times* leader and that given by the Dublin correspondent of the same paper. The object of the *Times* was to throw discredit on the movement, by representing the conference as one in which "dissent was rudely treated," in which "enthusiasm and violent

anger seemed to have prompted every word and every suggestion, and the blind impulses of unreasoning passion to have superseded every consideration derived from experience," with more of the same sort. Whereas their own correspondent had told the readers of the *Times* that he—

"Learned from those favoured with free admission, persons who had nothing to do with the conference, that the attendance throughout was highly respectable; that the business was conducted with an earnestness suitable to the occasion; and that there was a total absence of recrimination when members happened to differ on those portions of the resolutions which seemed to some of the more moderate men liable to misconstruction."

This, Lucas declared, was very much nearer the truth than the description in the article. He went on to deny that the tenant was a free agent in hiring his land, or that "the arrangement with the landlord was the result of a voluntary determination on each side," as the *Times* alleged. He admitted that interference in the making of contracts must be the exception and not the rule. At the same time, he "could without difficulty fill the *Times* with examples of such interference, taken from the statute-book, in almost every generation for the last five centuries; and the *Times* would not deny that such examples were never more numerous than at the present day." He would, however, only instance the Factory Act, the Truck Act, Acts controlling pawnbrokers, markets, builders, cab and boat proprietors, ship-

owners, and even emigrants themselves, to prove that nothing could be further from the practice or intention of the Legislature than to leave the weak and defenceless to the tender mercies of "free competition."

The *Times* replied, that though the delegates had not abused one another, as alleged, yet they had abused other people; that, as the principle of interference was admitted on all hands, the long letter was a waste of words, and was simply valueless; that the prudence of interference depended on the facts of each particular case; and that Lucas had given no proof of the necessity for interference in that of Irish land. It was asserted that "the farmer who came to hire land was wholly unshackled; that he was by law a free man; that he came voluntarily to the possessor of the land; and that when the two men met, the one to hire and the other to let the land, they met on a legal equality;" and that "the burden of proof lay upon those who asked the Legislature to interfere."

To this Lucas rejoined, on behalf of the League, in a second letter, in which he thanked the *Times* for the publication of the first. He admitted that, without some special reason for so doing, "it would seem irrational to spend a column and a half in proving so mere a truism as that which he had endeavoured to establish. It was indeed humiliating to spend so much time and space upon the demonstration of so plain a truth." But the fact

was, he found himself placed between the two fires of the alarmists and the economists. The former described the demand for valuation as Communism, and the latter treated it as a blasphemy against "the science" of free trade.

He was delighted to hear from the *Times* itself that the League might safely disregard these outcries. But even the *Times* misunderstood the position of the League, as was proved by the remark that "if they wished to be consistent, they must separate themselves wholly from the ranting enthusiasts by whom they were supported."

"This was the very issue they wished to raise. They knew the unjust impression as to the character of this movement which had been carefully produced in England, and they were anxious that all rational men should make common cause with them. As they had no hope of success except through persuasion; as they believed that, by the adoption of their principles, all classes would be benefited and none injured; and as they were persuaded that the arrangement contemplated would give riches and security to the Irish landlord and a wider field to English commerce, they were determined to do their best to remove the unfounded prejudice, and to make it known that their ranks were not composed of 'ranting enthusiasts,' but of men of sense and reason, from whom the calamities of the time might now and then extort a rash phrase or a vehement illustration, but who desired nothing, and would be content

with nothing, but practical remedies for an intolerable abuse."

He then proceeded to contrast the difference between the land systems of England and Ireland. The *Times* asserted that English and Irish landlords must be put on the same footing, and that there was no reason for legislative interference with one which did not apply to the other. Lucas replied:

"In both islands the legal and technical arrangements between landlord and tenant are the same. In both, rent is fixed, or appears to be fixed, on a basis of free competition. In both, landlord and tenant have the same degree of nominal freedom to make such contracts as they please. In both, the landlord has the power of dealing with his lands as the merchant deals with his goods; and yet, in the two cases, the opposite nature of the result is visible to every eye. In one case the power given by the law is used; in the other it is abused. In the former it is employed as an instrument of protection; in the latter it is employed as an instrument of destruction. In the former it is the staff with which the wayfarer upholds his steps; in the latter it is the bludgeon with which he is smitten to the ground. . . .

"In England no sane landlord deals with his land as the merchant deals with his goods; it is not the practice in England to insist upon the highest rent that can be got for the land. As a class, the English landlords look on both sides of the bargain, consult for the interest of the tenant,

expend their own capital on the farm, carefully make it their own interest that the tenant shall thrive and prosper, and would hold it at once disreputable and foolish to put up their lands to private auction, and to lease them to the highest bidder. . . . The necessity for interference in Ireland arises mainly from the long-continued, permanent, and hopeless refusal of the Irish landlords to follow the example of their English brethren."

Eight years ago the *Times* had said :—

"In any case, the landlord is not a tradesman. He stands to his tenantry, or ought to do so, *in loco parentis*. He is there as well for their good as for his own. They are not mere contractors with him to hold his land as capital, and pay him the full interest or incur a forfeiture; they are rather the agents placed in his hands, and under his care and protection, for the purpose of working his land, and whose natural relations with him cannot be determined except by negligence or ill-conduct. If land is treated as money and the tenantry as borrowers, people may be sure that the landlord will be an usurer. In Ireland the tenant has not the shadow of the character of a voluntary contractor. With the Irish tenant there is no alternative, he must either continue on his quarter of an acre or starve; rackrent is misery, but ejectment is ruin."

In answer to this the *Times* evaded the point. The editor declared that that journal had asked for a description of the circumstances peculiar to the Irish people which should induce a Legislature to interfere between landlord and tenant, and that no answer had been given; and this notwithstanding the admission that the tenant

was not a voluntary contractor. The holding of meetings in different localities prevented Lucas from replying to this reproach of the *Times* for nearly two months. A letter which filled five columns was then dispatched to that journal with evidence collected from many sources—evidence which, as the writer says—

"Is to be found in almost every volume on the subject of Ireland that has been published for a century and a half; in every novel, in every blue-book, in every pamphlet, in every review, in every magazine and periodical in which that fertile subject of misery has been treated. The case is hardly one for proof in a short compass, because the strength of the proof lies in its universality."

Whether the *Times* was too much engaged at this time on the subject of what was called the Papal Aggression to pay attention to this letter, does not appear. But with the public mind full of the dreadful attack upon "our liberties," people here were in no humour to discuss an Irish question, and notices of the movement were almost entirely confined to the Irish press.

In connection with the Tenant-Right movement, the late Mr. Sullivan in his "New Ireland" here falls into a curious error. He thinks that the Ecclesiastical Titles disturbance caused the split which subsequently took place between the Presbyterians of the North and the Southern Catholics; whereas the two parties continued to

act cordially together till the fall of the Derby Government at the end of 1852 and the accession of the Aberdeen Cabinet, which contained a large Presbyterian element. North and South were not disunited during the Papal Aggression excitement.

The series of meetings mentioned above began at Enniscorthy, and were attended by Presbyterians from the North and by delegates from the League in Dublin, including Lucas. It is with reluctance one passes over some admirable speeches made on this and on other similar occasions. But the scope of this work compels me to confine myself to such details as are necessary for the illustration or justification of his career, character, convictions, and opinions.

In the meeting at Enniscorthy he showed how clearly he perceived the need there was to purge the representation of corrupt, timid, unreliable men. The battle was to be fought in the House; the fighting men, then, must not be such as would betray the position to the enemy. He said:—

"What I want to impress upon you is that you must pay more attention to your parliamentary affairs than you have hitherto done. If you are to succeed at all, you must succeed in Parliament. You must convince the members of Parliament of the justice of your cause, and still more of the necessity and expediency of acceding to your demands."

He expresses the belief that public opinion in England may be brought to see this necessity, and he gives as the grounds of his conviction the publication of several works both by Conservatives, such as Sergeant Byles, and Radicals, such as John Stuart Mill. But it is, he says, of prime importance that the agitation should be conducted with moderation, and with undeniable evidence that the movement has in it nothing revolutionary or communistic. He continues :—

"Every one who has read the history of the world knows that the most conservative part of every population—the one most difficult to be stirred to acts of violence—is always the agricultural population, on account of the fixed and permanent interest which they always have in the soil. Why is Ireland an exception to this rule, which is universal throughout the rest of the world? Why is it that people are able to bring against the agricultural population of Ireland (with some shadow of reason) the charge of being addicted to change? Simply because the present state of things is one from which any and every change would be an advantage, because the present system drives the agricultural population from the conservative instinct which in every other country belongs to and is inherent in it, if it be in a natural and just position. What has happened in other countries? There was a time when the agricultural population in France was in a revolutionary state, when

the serfs of that country went forth from their miserable huts to burn the chateaus and houses of the gentry, by whom they were ground down and oppressed. What was one of the fruits of the French Revolution, which broke up the land system in France? One result was that every peasant was settled on a small tract of land of his own. He acquired property; he became the owner of land; he was fixed on the soil; he had an interest in the maintenance of order and in the cultivation of a conservative spirit; and what has been the result? I will read you some extracts from a book lately published by Mr. Kay, barrister-at-law, and late travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge, because I think it important to show by evidence most conclusive and irresistible that the movement in which we are at this moment engaged is a conservative safeguard against revolutionary elements; that we are endeavouring to plant in every acre of Ireland a conservative spirit, and root out from every part of the land the principles of revolution by making every family in Ireland so satisfied with their position that they will have no motive or wish for change. This is the whole of our case; if we can prove that such a change has taken place in other countries, and that at this moment, when Europe is convulsed with revolutionary ideas, that on the very soil which, fifty years ago, was the hot-bed of revolution because the people had no property, the peasant is now as conservative

as Lord Roden, it will be admitted that a great portion of our case is made out."

He then quotes Mr. Kay in proof of the fact, which was on the whole tolerably well known to persons who had followed closely the course of events since the outbreak in February 1848, that the present proprietors of France, Germany, Holland, and Switzerland were all on the side of order, and opposed to revolutionary excesses, and that it was only in Austria, Bohemia, and Poland, where the peasants are serfs, that they showed any disposition to rebel. He concludes with these words:—

"Plant the Irish peasantry on the land—give them an interest in the soil—give them something to lose in the event of a change, and their natural shrewdness will not dispose them to be more addicted to revolutionary or violent tendencies than the peasant proprietors of those countries. I have to apologise for having detained you too long; but I was anxious to bear testimony to the conservative character of this movement, and to throw back with scorn the charge of a revolutionary tendency; the object of the movement being to promote order and tranquillity, and to secure the peace, prosperity, and welfare of all classes of the community."

These remarks upon the conservative character of agricultural populations are, it will be observed, entirely in accordance with Lucas's views of the effect of drafting the rural popula-

tions into the large manufacturing centres. How far the diminution of the one, while the other has been increasing, may be found, as time goes on, to have sapped the conservative foundations of this kingdom, remains to be seen. Already symptoms are visible which go far to confirm, in thoughtful minds, the truth of Lucas's prognostications.

At a banquet in the evening he went again into the question of the representatives, intimating that there were men in the House who, while presenting popular petitions, would do their best to counteract their prayer. He advised the electors of Wexford, therefore, to watch the conduct of their members, and to be prepared against the next election with new men, who would really represent, and work for, the constituencies that returned them. The fact was, that the state of the Irish representation was as corrupt as it could well be, and what it wanted in corruption was made up by incapacity.

The day following the Enniscorthy demonstration Lucas was at Kilkenny, where, however, he did not speak. In fact, whereas he was doing more work in the cause than any other two men engaged in it, and though he was better acquainted with the arguments, the proofs, and the facts by which the contentions of the League could be supported and enforced than any other man in the country, he never put himself forward to speak. He came in after others had finished,

and when to many men the subject would have seemed nearly exhausted. But yet he brought to its elucidation a wealth of information, of principle, of reasoning, of originality, and of practical good sense, which held his audience enthralled; yet his manner was such as, with very few exceptions, never to excite any feeling of jealousy; while his sincerity and singleness of purpose were too plain for even opponents to gainsay or to question. A week later he was at Monaghan, where he contented himself with reading two letters addressed to him, one by Dr. MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, and the other by the Bishop of Meath, Dr. Cantwell. On the 10th October a very imposing meeting was held at Navan, where 15,000 persons were present. Mr. Sharman Crawford, M.P., made an excellent speech; Lucas also spoke. He applied himself to the charge of Communism, observing that:—

"It required a very philosophical mind to explain Communism. He had heard a great many definitions of it, all of them, but one, very unsatisfactory. The only one that ever satisfied his mind was given by a quaint writer naïvely, that 'it was a tin kettle very convenient to be tied to the tail of any unfortunate animal whom it was desirable to hunt to death.' But to be exact, the politicians who make this charge do not go so far as to say we are Communists; only that our principles lead to Communism. Lead to Communism! Lead to Communism! Let every

man speak for himself. They don't lead *me* to Communism. Judging by Mr. Crawford's speech, they don't lead *him* to Communism. To the best of my knowledge and belief, they don't lead any friend or member of the League to Communism. . . . No doubt, by accident, anything may lead anybody anywhere, especially if he be a fool. . . . One is led to ask, *How* valuation leads to Communism? and the answer is, that it renders necessary a legal adjustment of wages. I deny that a legal adjustment of wages is Communism. It may be wise or foolish, but Communism it is not. About five centuries ago, about the year 1350, a pestilence had filled the graves of England, as the graves of Ireland have been filled in the years preceding 1850. The number of the labouring population was so diminished that wages became extraordinarily high, whereupon the Legislature of landlords came forward to enact that no labourer should receive more than a certain rate of wages. There was Communism for you. . . . Now we demand a valuation of rents, whether it be Communism or no, because it is both wise and possible; and we reject, as a ludicrous imposture, any direct enactment for the purpose of fixing rents, not because it is Communism, but because it is foolish and impossible.

"[On the other side], look, gentlemen, at what happened only in last session of Parliament. From time immemorial, as you very well know, the Usury Laws have interfered with and have

limited private contracts between the borrower of money and the lender of it. Of late years these laws have been somewhat relaxed, and in last session an Act was passed which says, 'Provided always that nothing herein contained shall extend to the loan of any money upon or security of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or any estate, or interest therein.' The meaning of it is, that no landlord shall be at liberty to pay for money borrowed on the security of his estate more than five per cent. The meaning of it is to take under the protection of the law the poor, miserable, weak, helpless, dependent, imbecile, and unprotected landlord in his dealings with the money-lender. . . . Looking, it would seem, on these owners of the soil as a class who, by their moral and intellectual capacities, require a special protection, the Legislature forbids them to borrow money on the security of land at higher than the legal interest. . . . When the landlord brings his land into the market to receive money for it from the usurer, the law steps in to protect him from the usurer, and forbids the usurer to receive more than a fixed rate of interest. When the same landlord brings his land into the market to receive money for it from the tenant, what is to prevent the same law stepping in to protect the tenant from the usurer, who, in this instance, is the landlord himself, and forbidding that land-usurer to receive for his land more than a fixed rate of rent? What, I ask, is to prevent this? The

necessity of protecting the tenant is infinitely greater than the necessity for protecting the landlord. The money-lender is not a worse nor a more hardened usurer than are too many of the owners of the soil."

Lucas did not speak at the next meeting, which was held at Cashel on the 16th October, nor was he present at that which followed in Tyrone; but at a gathering at Ennis, at which some six thousand persons were present, after long and eloquent speeches by the Rev. Messrs. Black and Rentoul, Presbyterian ministers, and some others, he was introduced to the meeting. Having alluded to the numerous assemblies which had been attended by deputations from the League, he said:—

"One favourite topic which they [the landlord party] are very fond of introducing upon all occasions is a depreciation of the numbers who attend these meetings. They begin by describing them as insignificant gatherings. Mr. Meany has read for you to-day excuses from certain gentlemen for not showing themselves at our meeting. I may take upon myself to offer excuses for many more. I feel authorised and justified in doing so. I was yesterday visiting one of the most admirably managed establishments to be found probably in Ireland, the workhouse of this town; and I think I have a right to say that there are twelve thousand adults in the workhouses of this county, who, if not shut up in these establishments, if landlord

cruelty and inhumanity had not driven them from their farms, had not destroyed their means of living, reduced them to want, and made them the miserable recipients of alms given to them in these houses, would have been here to-day to swell this meeting and increase the numbers by five or six thousand. This meeting has been called together at limited notice, and if the secretaries had been able to give adequate notice of it to the people of Clare, they should have sent circulars to the banks of the Mississippi; they should have sent across the Atlantic, inviting all those who, like the persons I witnessed yesterday, have been driven out of house and home by the direct agency of the landlords. There is yet another class to whom summonses ought to have been sent, if the League were sufficiently powerful to effect it. But the gentlemen who called this meeting together possessed no power to summon men, women, and children from the grave. But there will come a time when we shall have in another place—I don't wish to speak profanely—a county meeting of a different character to this; there will come a time when the Creator of this world, the Judge of the living and the dead, shall come in almighty power to open the graves and raise from their hideous burial-places the victims, the martyrs of landlord oppression. It will be a strange meeting that; it will be a strange meeting when, at the day of the great resurrection, these miserable skeletons, through whose

attenuated bodies, when they died, the winds might almost have blown; it will be a strange meeting when they meet face to face the landlord and the agent by whom they were driven to an untimely grave. There must be a strange and strict account, which I do not wish to anticipate, passed between them, and for every act of inhumanity perpetrated here there will be vengeance hereafter."

The speaker then proceeded to defend the poor people against the charge of idleness. Four days later, on the 1st November, he was speaking at Waterford, and on the 4th at Mullingar. At the latter place he opened thus:—

"Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, it is very difficult to argue a question upon which everybody is agreed. With regard to the main principles upon which the League is founded, and which it has devoted itself to carrying into law, I do not believe that any human being, or any class of society, entertains the slightest difference of opinion. Gentlemen, what you have to do is not to convince mistaken minds; it is not to enlighten ignorance; it is not to assure people of that which they do not know; but it is to reform a defective and almost incorrigible will. You have to compel men to do that which they know is right, but which they refuse to do; you have to provide a remedy for a selfishness and a folly which have existed for centuries; which for centuries have produced the worst and most destructive results; which to the present

moment show no chance of reforming themselves; and which require, therefore, to be promptly reformed by law. This is what the Tenant League has set itself to do. There is no difference of opinion among the whole human race that rack-renting, as it is practised in Ireland, is a crime. No man is so foolish or so wicked as to deny this obvious proposition, that the man who lets his land for the highest rent that can be wrung from hungry tenants, by unlimited competition, is devoid not merely of the ordinary sentiments of humanity, but of those of justice; that he does that which he ought not to do; that he perpetrates a foul iniquity; that he strikes at the root of all society, and that he is a nuisance of which society ought to be purged."

Some people took exception to this proposition, abstract as it is. He continued :—

"What is rack-rent? I will tell you what it is. The rack is an instrument of torture, which, when applied to a healthy, well-knit, vigorous man, violently stretches him out, inch by inch, till his limbs, joints, and sinews are dislocated, and he is turned into a feeble, miserable, helpless wretch, who can just manage to totter through the street, and perhaps fall down in the gutter. Now rack-rent is exactly this instrument of torture applied to the pocket of the farmer. Shilling by shilling, it violently stretches out a just, fair, and reasonable rent into a rent unjust, unfair, and unreasonable; a rent which the farmer (no free contractor, as we

saw before) cannot pay out of the produce of the soil; a rent which takes from him the bread which he should eat, the food and clothing of his family, everything upon which he and they should be supported and maintained like Christians, and converts them into miserable slaves and paupers, empty, naked, tottering, hunger-bitten, degraded, and demoralised. This is rack-rent as it is known in Ireland; and as such, it is not praised, but condemned and execrated by every sane and honest man. Not merely you and I, but, in words, at least, every landlord, every official, every Minister of State, condemns rack-renting; condemns the exaction from the tenant of a rent forced up to an unnatural amount by unlimited competition."

As to the courts of law, he says: "Seeing the evil, they have not ceased to be the authors of it; while condemning it in others year after year, they have perpetrated it themselves." And then he shows how, under the Court of Exchequer, for land put up to auction, a rent equal to three or four times the value of the farm was offered, and the judges decided that they had no power to stop the bidding. But, when the time for payment came, the tenant was allowed to petition the court to set out the exorbitant rent, and was relieved of his arrears by the court. This practical limitation was not sufficient, and, in 1844, the Lord Chancellor issued an order authorising the officers of the court not to let by auction, but on the termination of a tenancy to

ascertain what was a fair and equitable rent, and to accept such rate, giving the tenant in occupation the preference. This practice applied to one-twentieth of all the cultivated land in Ireland; therefore, as regards that proportion, the highest official personages have had forced upon them by a long course of experience the important truth, long since familiar to all rational men, that to let land by unlimited competition is a disgraceful and abominable iniquity, and that the only remedy for the evils it produces is, to have the land valued, to fix upon it "a fair and reasonable occupation rent," and to keep the occupying tenant in possession, if he is willing and able to hold the farm at this fair and reasonable rent."[1] But, if these principles are true as regards one-twentieth of the land, why not equally so of the other nineteen-twentieths?

"Never was valuation so needed to adjust to a fair and reasonable standard the rent paid or claimed. Never was permanency of tenure so needed to stay the ruin, death, confiscation, and exile of the myriads of souls whom unlimited power over the soil, vested in a *pauper aristocracy*, is sweeping from this beautiful land."

Towards the end of November, a vacancy having occurred in the representation of the town of Limerick, Mr. Michael Ryan of Bruree issued

[1] It will be remembered that, notwithstanding this practice of the courts, 250 persons had been lately ejected by the Court of Chancery.

an address on Tenant-Right principles. Within twenty-four hours after reading that address, a deputation from the Dublin Council, consisting of Messrs. Fuller, Shea Lalor, and Lucas, started for Limerick. The opposing candidates were Mr. Dickson and Mr. Wyndham Goold, brother in-law to Mr. Monsell, the present Lord Emly. This Goold was a man of whom Lucas, addressing the electors, said that he was one "whom no amount of misery on your part, no possible percentage of death, no conceivable amount of extermination or exile, nothing, in fact, could induce him to stir one step or raise a finger to protect the interests of the people or advance the 'Tenant-Right' movement." One of the inducements held out to the voters to support Goold was curious and canting, and of a kind that Lucas could by no means stomach. After remarking that the deputation had come down "to save the lives of the people; to put a stop to the atrocities of the landlords; to defend our faith;[1] to uphold our altars; to maintain everything dear and holy in this life and the next; that on such a subject he could not wage a puny war of affected candour, and that he should call murder what is murder, perjury what is perjury, villainy what is villainy, bribery what is bribery," he went on to say that one of the pleas in favour of supporting Mr. Goold was, that if he were treated

[1] The Papal Aggression disturbance, headed by Lord John Russell, was in full swing in England.

civilly, not he, but Mr. Monsell would probably become a Catholic. He very much doubted whether it was worth while paying such a price as this for such a chance. "The idea of Mr. Monsell having his salvation worked out by the landlord system of famine, murder, and starvation was, to say the least, extraordinary. The real way to convert him was to stand up like independent men and tell him what he ought to do." Goold was returned by a considerable majority, and Mr. Monsell became a Catholic. We shall meet with him again.

The year wound up with some meetings in the North, at Newtownards and Broughshane, at both of which Lucas spoke; but I do not find any striking passages in the reports of the speeches, nor was the subject presented in any new light. The Bill that was to be brought in was prepared, and for the time being public attention was turned in another direction. There was indeed little hope of any good from such a set of Irishmen as the members of that Parliament.

A letter which Lucas wrote about this time to Mr. Riethmüller contains a passage which refers to the meetings above recorded. In it he remarks:—

"I daily rejoice at the recollection of our old Debating Society [at the London University,] and I take some pride in remembering, in connection with it, almost the only instance of real perseverance I was ever guilty of—I mean in labouring to overcome a most painful nervousness, &c. The year I

devoted myself to do that has made me of twice the value here, and, if I had not done it then, I should never have done it. O Lord! when I attend committees, and conferences, and public meetings, and speak from the tops of barrels, and out of public-house windows, and in all sorts of strange places, you can't tell how often I think about the old days, and the good old fellows who then were. I wish some of you were here; and yet I sometimes wish not; for in this sort of public life friendship is oddly mixed up with a secret jealousy, or, if that word is too strong, with little ranklings of mutual discontent, which amongst old friends are more painful than separation."

CHAPTER II.

THE GORHAM CONTROVERSY—THE PAPAL AGGRESSION.

THE Gorham controversy, with its ludicrous contradictory decisions, was a fit prelude to the disturbance caused by the establishment of the Hierarchy. "The peculiarity of the quarrel between the Bishop of Exeter and Mr. Gorham," said Lucas, "is this—it was utterly gratuitous, because both disputants were right. There was a question about a fundamental doctrine of revealed religion, and the sentence proceeding from the highest court in the kingdom is, that two persons taking views of it directly contradictory are both in the right.

"An ecclesiastical tribunal decides that men may safely be heathens or Christians without denying the doctrine of the Church of England. Baptism is regeneration, or it is not. There is no middle way here. The proposition is either true or false that we are brought by baptism into the state of grace. The Church of England says that it is both true and false; contradictions are therefore true; therefore we say they are false also. Here is a Church professing to teach the truth, which does not know whether baptism is worth

having or not. Why, this Church is an accursed thing, and the sooner it is blotted out for ever from the face of the earth, the better it will be for those poor souls whom it holds entangled in the snares of error. The practical meaning of the sentence is this—according to the doctrine of the Church of England by law established, it is quite possible that there is neither heaven nor hell."

Lucas foresaw to what this must needs come. To-day we see how true was his vaticination, or rather judgment. He concludes thus:—"Here is a great lesson for the whole world. The English Catholics were formerly jealous of the Pope's in terference in their affairs. They did not like pay Peter's Pence, nor to have their matrimon causes finally decided by the Holy See. So t set up for themselves, and declared themse an independent Catholic Church. Gardiner Bonner said Mass as usual, and the devout who had no love for the Pope heard it, thi that England was a great country, which Alm God since the Conquest never meant to b ject to the Bishop of Rome. So they made VIII., his heirs and successors, whether female, their pope, and undertook to whatever they might be taught by authority they had so ingeniously devise is the end of it: the great, proud, cont English profess as divine truth what L dale, Brougham, and Campbell perm profess. It is really a wonderful sig

half-a-dozen laymen, by virtue of an Act of Parliament, undertake to determine what is or is not true respecting one of the sacraments, and they determine that it is no sacrament at all. Here surely is a lesson for all Catholics throughout the world. Either the Church must be supreme or the tool of the State. Englishmen preferred to make her subordinate to the State, and they have established a heresy which now begins to teach Atheism."

Absurdities beget absurdities. A religion with no defined doctrines can hardly be damaged by attacks on points of faith. Nevertheless, the public mind was in an excitable state at this time; and another circumstance occurred a little later which heightened the mental combustibility of the people. After repeated appeals and re-appeals to Rome on the subject of the godless colleges, a Synod was held at Thurles which decided, once and for all, in accordance with the Papal decision already mentioned, and against the colleges. At the same Synod it was unanimously determined to found a Catholic University in Dublin. It became evident that the Church was making progress in these islands, and the Whig press was extremely wroth at the breaking down of their pet scheme for de-Catholicising the Irish students, and they were no less active than angry in their attacks upon everything Catholic.

They were disgusted to find that the Catholics whom they had regarded as types and specimens of

their class were either traitors to the Pope or of no consideration among their fellows. So long as Catholics were content to rank with Whigs, heretics, and infidels, and to make common cause with them, there was nothing to be said against Catholics in public; they were good subjects and excellent men; those of them who were seen abroad were pretty much like heretics, and had no objection to denounce priestcraft or break the precepts of the Church. Such types of Catholicism found favour with the world, and the infidels rejoiced in the companionship. As soon, however, as it was discovered that these men were scouted by their brethren, the warmth of their friendship sensibly cooled, and they were half inclined to call for penal laws and the re-enactment of ancient restraints. Timid Catholics, too, were hiding their heads, and when they spoke, it was to denounce their more honest brethren, and to charge them with exciting ill-feeling. "If there is to be a reaction—as we are told—let it come. But who has given cause for it? Not those who are faithful to the Pope, but those who denied his prerogative, and deceived their countrymen as to his true character, power, and influence. Why, it will be a good day for the Church when Bishops and priests are sent to the Tower, and a brighter one when they are put to death."

Both parties, then, the Protestant bigots and the staunch Catholics, were prepared for the unforeseen but fast approaching struggle. The former

were ready to explode at the least spark, and the latter to encounter the noise and the dust of the explosion. The above sentences appeared on the 6th October; on the 8th letters were received from Dr. Wiseman in Rome announcing his elevation to the dignity of Archbishop of Westminster at the Consistory held on the 29th September, and to that of Cardinal on the day following. Here was the spark, and forthwith came what was afterwards known among Catholics as the Ecclesiastical Titles' Row. As usual, the *Times* led the way, and was followed by nearly every other anti-Catholic paper in the country. At first it was only an explosion of gas, but soon the fabric of the Constitution was declared to be on fire and the whole edifice in danger. In a pastoral letter "given out of the Flaminian Gate" on the 7th of October, the new Cardinal announced that, instead of eight Apostolic-Vicariates, as hitherto, the Catholic Church in England was to be subject to one Metropolitan and twelve Episcopal Sees; the Cardinal's Archiepiscopal See being Westminster, with administrative powers over the rest of the country.

"So that," said the letter, "for the present, and till such time as the Holy See shall think fit otherwise to provide, we govern and shall continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex as Ordinary thereof, and those of Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Berkshire, and Hampshire, with the islands annexed, as Administrator with Ordinary jurisdiction."

Here was presumption with a vengeance! The writers in the press either could not or would not construe the sentence rightly. The words "as Ordinary" were ignored. The Ordinary is the Bishop of the diocese, the ecclesiastical judge of the district, just as the Ordinary of Newgate is the chaplain of that prison. His jurisdiction is confined to spiritual matters, and interferes in no way with that of the civil government.

Neither Pope nor Cardinal had any reason to anticipate the fury into which the British nation lashed itself. It was not the fear of false teaching which moved them, as the Gorham case proved. And as to the political aspect of the matter, the restoration of the hierarchy had been announced as imminent in 1847, before Lord Minto's mission; and Dr. Wiseman had been described in Battersby's Directory as Archbishop of Westminster. Moreover, his Holiness had spoken to Lord Minto about the proposed step, and had been given to understand that the English Government would offer no opposition to the execution of the project. With this assurance, the Cardinal was sent back to England, anticipating no British displeasure. When the press began in excited and exciting language to tell the people that this was an attack upon the Constitution, and would not be tolerated by the English people, some Catholics were taken aback; others discovered and published in the Protestant

press all sorts of reasons why the step was ill-judged if not immoral, and one for which his Holiness ought really to be called to account. Oaths, it was said, were disregarded; the allegiance, and what was more, the comfort of the objectors, was imperilled.

With the advantages of persecution strongly impressed upon his mind, Lucas was neither astonished nor dismayed. He looked at the probable resuscitation of the penal laws with perfect calmness. He saw through the hollow Protestant pretence of hating persecution, and he told the Protestants he fully understood the true character of their professions. It may be observed here, that from the moment the *Tablet* was established in Dublin, the *Times* and other papers, which had ignored its existence while it was in England, began to quote its pages on other subjects besides Tenant-Right; so that its remarks were addressed not alone to an Irish or an English Catholic public, but to the British people at large.

Speaking, then, of the malice already expressed in the English papers, Lucas asks:—

"Does a Protestant hate persecution? We think not, and there is no little evidence to be had in the least-suspected quarters that penal laws and Whiggery may thrive again. We owe penal laws to the Whigs, and, if we live long enough, we may be their debtors again. The Church is showing herself more and more in England, and in proportion to her visibility and

uncalled-for interference with men's sins, will be the hatred with which the easy, the respectable, and the thriving sinner—be he politician or tradesman—will regard her, and, whether in his place in Parliament or elsewhere, he will do her what mischief he can."

Mr. Lucas's object was to set people thinking and to make "respectable infidels" and "easy-going heretics" as uncomfortable as possible. He told his readers that henceforth every baptized person was openly commanded, under pain of damnation, to submit in spiritual matters to the Bishops of the new Catholic diocese. This, of course, was open to misrepresentation, as if some new authority were claimed by the Church. But, as Lucas said, "there was nothing new in the obligation. Our great principle, 'No salvation out of the Church,' was not of yesterday. Our intolerance was an old story; we have no wish, and indeed no power, to force our faith on others by violence. Why then should the *Times* threaten us? Why should the *Times* recommend brickbats and bludgeons, Italian revolutions and new penal laws, while other journals issue the war-cry, 'The sword of the Lord and of Gideon?' It is because the principle of Protestantism is of its father the devil, and is bound by no obligations, whether of oaths, or of treaties, or of conscience; and such being the case, we must own we are animated, not intimidated, by their threats. The devil is wont to howl when he is hurt. The

timid among us should ponder this well. The Church cannot make the slightest movement without arousing furious passions, and hearing voices around it like the howling of exorcised demons."

A comparison of dates will show that these things were being said at the very moment when it was deemed of importance to secure from the *Times* a fair hearing and a fair discussion of Tenant-League principles. The one paramount object which Lucas set before himself throughout his career was the spread and furtherance of the Catholic faith and religion. When, therefore, a question arose in which this was involved, all other considerations were with him quite beside the mark. But in reality Lucas never had any apprehension that speaking the truth boldly could compromise its interests, or any other interest worth contending for. And in fact the *Times* inserted his letters on Tenant-Right. Then came Lord John Russell's (in)famous Durham Letter. How Lucas regarded that futile exhibition of bigotry the following extracts will show. He did not at first perceive, what he discovered erelong, that effusion of Lord John's was not a mere splutter of anger, nor was it intended merely to stir up hatred against the Catholic Church. It was one of the series of Whig moves having for their object to enslave the Church. The scheme was deep-laid and far-sighted, and bore on its surface so plausible an explanation,

an explanation so completely in accordance with the national bigotry, as for the time effectually to conceal the end in view. What this was will soon be disclosed. The article from which I quote was entitled "Lord Titus Oates." It begins thus:—

"With all our hearts and souls we thank God for the writing and publication of the letter from Lord John Russell to the Bishop of Durham. It is the severest blow that has yet been dealt in public opinion upon those Whig partisans who have been willing to go all lengths in sacrificing the interests of the Church to the good pleasure of their anti-Catholic friends, patrons, and protectors. Thank God, Lord John Russell has at length spoken out and shown himself in his true colours, such as we have always represented him to our readers. Since the day—now a quarter of a century ago—when, in his famous Huntingdon speech, he declared that he supported Emancipation as a means of putting down Popery, all sensible men have known the value of his friendship; have perfectly understood that the old bitter spirit of the robbers of the Reformation, his ancestors, is in him; that the ally of Titus Oates lived among us in soul and heart, though with changed outside; and that the real purpose of all his professions of liberality was inspired by hostility to our religion.

"Those Catholics who have sold themselves, whether for gold, for partisanship, for Whig

favour, or the name of social and political respectability, to the present Government, have now their just reward in the contempt of the puppet they have so ignominiously worshipped.

"Lord John tells them that the Holy Father's conduct is 'insolent and insidious.' Do these corrupt and schismatical Catholics quarrel with him for so saying? Not they. In these offensive expressions he but expresses their own thoughts. He tells them that he looks with contempt on 'the mummeries of superstition' which they dignify with the name of religion. Do they object to this abuse from so exalted a mouth? Not they indeed. They have long since schooled themselves out of all self-respect, as well as out of all regard for the dignity of their religion.

"He tells them that the Pope and the Church are making 'laborious endeavours to confine the intellect and to enslave the soul;' and that he and all sensible men 'look with scorn' upon them for their endeavours. Do they quarrel with him for this opinion? Not so. It is their own. They too are numbered among the 'sensible men' who entertain this very opinion.

"He tells them he designs to interfere by law, if it be possible, with those strictly ecclesiastical arrangements which the Holy See has introduced into England; that he will look narrowly 'into the present state of the law;' and that if he can make war upon the Cardinal and Archbishop by the use of any old penal enactment, he will do so

if he finds it safe. Will they quarrel with the Prime Minister for this? Not they indeed. 'Many waters cannot quench charity;' and many kicks and outrages cannot quench the flame of an ungodly abjection.

"The Prime Minister will revive and enforce so much of the Penal Code as remains unrepealed. Thank you, my Lord. Do we quarrel with you for this? Very hardly can we find it in our hearts to quarrel with you for such an act done for such a motive. Why should we quarrel with you for making the fullest revelation of qualities and intentions which, so long as they are open, we despise with all our hearts, and which are only dangerous in their concealment? We quarrel with you not. We see in your letter much that gratifies us: the clearest proof that the base Minto conspiracy [in reference to the godless colleges] has been defeated, and has been defeated past all hope of recovery, and that anger at this notorious defeat is the real ground of this public and insolent profession of your anger."

All this time the land agitation in Ireland occupied too much of the time and attention of the Irish people for them to trouble themselves much about the excitement on this side of the Channel.

Here it was a case of "BEDLAM BROKE LOOSE," and Lucas commented upon the exhibition thus:—

"The sound, sober, practical, serious, hard-

working, prosaic, sensible English people, when they run mad, form," said he, "a comical spectacle enough." They are proud of their sense, seriousness, sobriety, their exclusively practical character, their addiction to hard unrelenting work, and their freedom from any but prosaic thoughts or imaginations; and yet it rarely happens that a decade of years passes over without this phlegmatic nation running absolutely mad. A mad bull is a bull overdriven, and John Bull, up to his ears in the cares of this life, periodically overdrives himself, overstrains his faculties in one direction, and of necessity requires, by way of counterpoise, the excitement of periodical madness to make all things straight.

"In these fits John Bull is as like a mad bull as a river in Macedon is to a river in Monmouth, or 'as my fingers is to my fingers.'"

The disturbance was so grotesque and so absurd, that Lucas's sense of humour was brought into active play. Laughing at Lord John, he observes, "'The Pope's Brief is inconsistent with the rights of our Bishops.' What rights and what Bishops? Is it supposed that the Pope will recognise such a thing as Charles James (Blomfield) for a Bishop? By the rood, not so.

"'The Pope's Brief also is inconsistent with the *spiritual* independence of the nation.' The *spiritual*, mind. The Pope's Brief is at variance with that! The Catholic Church professes to be Catholic—that is, universal. So say all the cate-

chisms and books of controversy, twopenny and otherwise. The Pope professes to be head of that Church, the Catholic Church, the Church universal, the *one* Church to which all real Christians belong, and out of which there is no salvation; and as the head of that one Catholic Church he claims a spiritual supremacy over all baptized Christians—a supremacy utterly at variance with, and subversive of, all other forms of religion whatever, whether Greek, Nestorian, Presbyterian, Dissenting, Lutheran, Calvinistic, Prussian, Mahommedan, Buddhist, Brahminical, Cannibal, or even Anglican; and so in effect says the Pope's Brief.

"With all this Lord John professes great 'indignation.' He is very wrathful with the Pope for not professing the Anglican heresy. What he objects to is, not precisely the claim to supremacy, but the claim to 'sole and undivided sway' in the spiritual kingdom. He wishes the Pope to take a partner. He is anxious to have a spiritual marriage between the Pope and the monarch; for the Pope to become a sleeping member of the firm. The Pope may be supreme in the Church if he will let the Queen be more supreme. He may teach that Catholicity is the only truth if he will only allow that its contradictory is true likewise, and that Anglicanism is the only other truth."

The newspapers worked with unusual vigour to bring about the passing of a new penal code;

one proposed that the draymen of Bankside should thrash the Cardinal and drag him through the mud, as they had done the Austrian General Haynau; and a magistrate from the bench said he "thought a little imprisonment would do him good."

In this crisis Cardinal Wiseman wrote to his friends in England asking their advice as to his coming over. Among the first of these was Dr. Whitty, Vicar-General of Westminster, and the devoted friend of the Cardinal. Whatever advice others gave, that of Dr. Whitty was unhesitatingly to come at once. Sending then beforehand a magnificent address to the English people, a document which appeared in the *Tablet* on the 23d November, he himself arrived before the end of the month. The address pleased the general public, and he was by no means ill received. Still the idea of passing some penal law could not be abandoned, for more reasons than one. A sudden conversion to common sense is incompatible with the omniscience, judgment, and dignity of great journals; and whether Lord John really intended to pass such a law or not, he had other schemes in the background to the success of which the threat might materially contribute.

Gradually the secret began to leak out.

The *Globe* not very indistinctly suggested that the royal veto on the appointment of the Bishops should be insisted on. The *Tablet* commented on the suggestion :—

"As distinguished from the blind howling of the unthinking, turtle-eating rabble of London Aldermen and Yorkshire Lords, a portion of the Cabinet evidently has a very definite intention, which may or may not become the intention of the majority.

"This intention is tolerably obvious. Under cover of a stupid squabble in which nothing worth a straw is at stake, about the titles of Bishops' Sees, they hope to force upon the Catholic Church fetters which, of course, would never be endured, but which, if endured, would be fatal to the independence of religion."

Before the end of the year it seemed to many as though the excitement was at an end. My brother did not believe that, after all the mad bluster, nothing further would be attempted. Every constituency in England, he said, "was pledged to insanity, and he could not imagine that no trace of it would be visible in the Legislature."

One particular advantage he saw in all this—the Cardinal was fairly forced into opposition. With the example of Dr. Murray's weakness before his eyes, Lucas could not feel sure how far English Ministers might be able to hoodwink Cardinal Wiseman. Of their power to pervert Bishops he had terrible proof within four years in the case of Dr. Cullen.

How necessary and well-timed were Lucas's animadversions on the conduct of the time-serving Catholics, a letter from Lord Beaumont to Earl

Zetland, the head of the Orangemen, proves. In this letter the Catholic peer characterised Lord John Russell's conduct as that of a friend of the British Constitution.

Two or three months later, *i.e.*, in January 1851, Lucas wrote thus to Mr. Riethmüller:—"We won't discuss the Papal Aggression just now, for I have no time. All will go well, I dare say; and for my part, I prefer the hostility of the Whigs and penal laws to their friendship, which I believe to be radically and necessarily treacherous. You may have reason to lament the perturbation caused on your side of the Channel. Here we are as stagnant as mud about it; and as a mere religious question, I would willingly—if I could afford it—have paid down £1000 to purchase Lord John's letter and its consequences."

CHAPTER III.

THE PAPAL AGGRESSION IN PARLIAMENT—VISIT OF LUCAS TO LONDON.

EARLY in 1851 an amusing correspondence appeared between the English and Irish (Anglican) Bishops. The former body had addressed the Queen on the current topic under the style of "the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England." The Irish dignitaries resented not being made parties to the address, and "took upon them to jog the memories of their English brethren, and to ask the reason of this strange forgetfulness." The Archbishop of Canterbury replied that "neither he nor such Bishops as he had had the opportunity of consulting considered that they could invite the Irish Bishops to complain of an aggression which only affected the Church of England."

Upon this naïve reply Lucas called attention to the fact that "by 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 67, the Church of England ceased to exist and became the United Church of England and Ireland. By virtue of that Act Bishops went to bed Bishops of the Church of England, and rose Bishops of the United Church; and that another

Act of Parliament might unite them with Russia or with Turkey, and make them Bishops of the United Protestant and Mahommedan Church of England, Ireland, and Constantinople. An English Bishop, according to English Protestant notions, is a thing created by the law of the land; it is just what the law of the land makes it. A real English Bishop, therefore, is a person clothed with a civil function—a manufacture of Queen, Lords, and Commons.

"The English Bishops on this occasion seem, like so many people in this wicked world, to have forgotten their maker, and to have practically blotted out of their sacred canon their Book of Genesis, 39 and 40 Geo. III. c. 67."

Now the end and aim of the Whig Government in fomenting this agitation was not to prevent the use of the new titles. My Lords cared nothing about the titles. As before remarked, their objects were very different. Some time in December or thereabouts, they had applied to France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Scandinavia, Spain, Portugal, Piedmont, and Switzerland for information as to existing arrangements between those countries and the Holy See touching the administration of the Roman Catholic Church, especially as regards the nomination of Bishops and to the publication of Pontifical Bulls. A circular of the Swiss Federal Council addressed to the Cantonal authorities to this effect came into the hands of the *Ami de la Religion*, and was

published in that journal. The circular said, "It is of essential importance for the English Government to know whether the Bishops are appointed directly by the Cantonal authorities of the diocese, or are appointed subject only to their approbation, and if the publication of Bulls and Briefs has place with or without previous notice and authorisation on the part of the Governments." Being official, this document showed clearly enough that "the English Government contemplated legislation on these matters; had no intention of stopping short at a futile legislation against titles, but intended a positive or negative intervention in the appointment of Catholic Bishops, and meant to claim some sort of intervention over the publication of Bulls and Briefs."

Lucas put this matter in a strong light before his readers. He called upon them not to be so base as to fold their hands and dream in a shameful security while these iniquities were in contemplation, even should they never be carried into effect. He then argued that, were such a precedent established here, it would serve as a step towards State control over the Church in Ireland. An article in the *Examiner*—the organ of the most bigoted section of the Cabinet—advocated a new penal law, and the putting down of all interference in our temporal affairs, among which it ranked the action of the Synod of Thurles in condemning the godless colleges. It was clear that mere defence was not contemplated; the

determination was, on one pretence or another, to attack the discipline and freedom of the Church.

While "the heathen raged and the people imagined a vain thing" in reference to the constituting of new Bishoprics in England, a worse aggression was taking place in Ireland. The Bishop of Cloyne had petitioned the Pope—and his Holiness had granted the prayer—to divide a Bishopric in the county of Cork into two, to unmake one that existed, and to plant another where there had been none hitherto; in fact, as Lucas put it, "to circumscribe British territory, and to uncircumscribe it, to mould it, cut it, patch it, and darn it just as he pleased; and he had sent over the Bulls, which were at that moment lodged with the Metropolitan of the province."

"His Lordship," said Lucas, "following the example of Benjamin Franklin, has been making experiments in electricity. That philosopher flew a kite into a thunder-cloud and brought down the electric fluid to a key at the end of the string. The Bishop has sent his winged messengers into the firmament charged with storms, and, if he has not brought down a blast of English lightning on the keys of St. Peter, there has been much noise to little purpose. He ought in common modesty to have been frightened; to have been ready—

'To dive like buckets in concealed wells,
To crouch in litter of the stable planks,
To lie like pawns locked up in chests and trunks,
. . . . to seek secret safety out
In vaults and prisons, and to thrill and shake,'

even at the braying of an English ass." But he did none of these things; he simply showed his contempt for British bluster.

Then a certain portion of the press explained to its readers that all the agitation, speeches, letters in the papers, Guy Faux processions, blasphemies, ribaldry, impieties; all the abuse lavished on the Catholic faith, its dignitaries, laws, and practices; all the advocacy of reviving old and enacting new penal laws, were directed to, or proceeded from, a consideration for the interests and feelings of the Catholic body. Lucas was amused at this hypocrisy. On the other hand, the *Times* declared that "our indignation is provoked by the second Bull." Lucas replied that no human being with whom he was acquainted cared a straw for "our indignation," or those whom "we" represented, or of whom "we" were the echo.

"It had been our wish," the *Times* avowed, "to separate as much as possible the English from the Irish question." "Quite so," replied the *Tablet*. "It is 'our wish' to eat our meal by degrees;" having once effectually gagged the English Catholics, the gagging of the Irish would be more than half accomplished.

The Pope, it was asserted, had been actuated by a spirit of presumptuous and uncalculating

bigotry; or by a foolish reliance on the "good fortune" of the Catholics in not having been swallowed up alive during the last three months. "Not at all," said the *Tablet;* "we don't rely on good fortune. Our confidence is in God. This of course these writers can't understand; they can't be expected to realise that 'good fortune' or 'bad fortune' are to us all one; that we are playing at the old game of 'heads I win, tails you lose.'"

When Parliament opened and Lord John introduced his Bill, it did not appear that he had received much information from any of the Powers as to their modes of persecuting the Church. He denied, on the authority of Lord Minto, that there had been any understanding with the Holy See. But Mr. Disraeli plainly intimated his disbelief in the denial. The cream of his speech was a passage in which he ridiculed the delivery of so small a mouse as the Bill in question after such a labour of so prodigious a mountain of agitation. It was indeed no longer the Papal Aggression of October and November that was aimed at. "Now," said he, "I find the noble Lord seeking, as the basis of his Bill, not the visit of Dr. Wiseman to England, but the Synod of Thurles."

Three months later, on the 8th of May, in a division on a motion by Mr. Urquhart, 201 members proved by their votes how thoroughly they disbelieved Lord John's assertion.

Lucas came over to be present at the debates,

and for some personal affairs. His family were all, as a matter of course, delighted to have him back again, and to enjoy as much of his society as he could afford to give them. He had had endless troubles in bringing out the paper week after week, but his flow of spirits when in the midst of his family never flagged. With the utmost simplicity, and never as if teaching, he poured out information on all sorts of subjects, in a telling and original way, calculated to leave a lasting impression on the memory. The Papal Aggression, and all the questions growing out of it, were, of course, uppermost in his mind. Yet, notwithstanding his ardent desire to see all of us submit to the Church, I do not remember his ever entering into controversy with any of us. Once I asked him if he really meant to say that there is no salvation out of the Church. "That," he replied, "is the rule; but then you are such a very good fellow, that no doubt Almighty God will make an exception in your case;" a reply more effective than an argument, and comprehensive as a treatise. Nothing could be gentler. As I write I see the grave smile with which he spoke.

Before returning to Ireland he took Lord John to task for a speech in which he professed to adhere to the Whig principle of not excluding Catholics from office. The speech was full of misrepresentations from beginning to end, and Lucas subjected it to as merciless an analysis as Cardinal

Newman applied to Kingsley's pamphlet; displaying the man's statements in gross and in detail, and numbering his lies (he called them lies) one, two, three, &c. "What," he asks, "would be the use of obeying the proposed law? . . . Obedience to the law, supposing it to be carried, would only invite fresh persecution; and for that reason the true policy was to brave the law and break it at every opportunity, and with as much publicity as possible." For Lord John he had a sovereign contempt; and of his sense of honour, he writes, "If he promises, he will break his word. If he swears, he will be perjured. If he makes compacts, he will violate them. If we trust him, he will betray us, and, kissing us, will thrust his sword into our entrails."

One of the first effects of this Bill as it appeared in the middle of February would have been practically to repeal the Bequests Act, to cheat the Irish Bishops, and to throw Irish trust funds into confusion. By clause 3, any trust money left to any Bishop in virtue of his office was to be confiscated to the Crown, so that if property, real or personal, were left to "Nicholas Wiseman" or "Daniel Murray" by name, directly for the use of his diocese or for any object that could be tortured into an upholding of his diocesan establishment, the secret intention of the donor could, by a bill of discovery, be ascertained on forced oath, and the legacy or donation forfeited. The first clause of the Bill

inflicted a penalty of £100 on any Bishop every time he used his title. This was bad enough; but the reason for the enactment of the measure, as stated, with the accustomed legal verbiage, in the preamble of the Bill, was in one sense even worse, for it was a plain, palpable falsehood. It declared that "the attempt to establish, under colour of the authority of the See of Rome, sees, provinces, or dioceses," not bearing the names of sees already in existence, was "illegal." But in fact there was nothing illegal in the establishment of the Hierarchy. The very object and intention of the Bill was to create an illegality where there was none before. If the assumption of those titles was illegal, the law could be put in force against the breakers of it. But it was a foolish Bill to boot, for while it made the assumption of the title by the holder penal, it left anybody else free to address his Archbishop or Bishop by the title of Westminster, or Birmingham, or Beverley. It was scarcely introduced, when the Radicals, disgusted with Lord John, joined the Tories, and left him in so small a majority that he was compelled to resign. After several abortive attempts on the part of the Tories to form a new Ministry, he resumed office. On moving the second reading, his Bill was found to have been cut down to one—the first and directly penal clause. He pretended a desire that "the feelings of acrimony which prevailed should not be prolonged." These "feelings of acrimony" meant, as Lucas pointed

out, twenty, thirty, or forty votes on the wrong side.

In the course of the debates on the Bill, Lord Palmerston thus expressed his view of the position :—

"To judge from past experience of the Irish Roman Catholics, he did not contemplate that this measure, if passed into law, would be disobeyed by the Roman Catholic Bishops of this country."

Lucas remarked upon this, that "Lord Palmerston was the most frankly outspoken of the Ministers, and invariably uttered with the most honourable fairness the opinion, good or bad, which he entertained of friend or foe. He had not, it is true, formed a very high opinion of men in general, but then he compensated for this by admitting his own infirmities. He generally found that severe justice was not dealt out to him, and his candour, such as it was, met with corresponding favour." His belief in this instance was that the Catholic Church, of which he was the most unwearied enemy, was willing to suffer. We shall find this matter referred to in the "Statement."

Some new clauses were introduced into the Bill by Mr. Walpole and Sir F. Thesiger, and the debates were conducted with that regard for decency which distinguishes the House of Commons, including the Speaker, when Irish or Catholic questions of magnitude excite the feelings of that august body.

Thus, on the 13th of February, Mr. Anstey,

speaking of the penal legislation against Catholics, styled it "damnable" and "infernal." The spirit of the House revolted against this strong language; it was denounced as unparliamentary, and the Speaker "put it to the hon. member whether he thought it consistent with the dignity of the House to use such expressions as those." Mr. Anstey, so pressed, promised to avoid giving offence in that way in future. Mr. Anstey was, of course, a Catholic. Five weeks later, on the 20th of March, Mr. Henry Drummond, banker and member for West Surrey, in the course of a speech on this same legislation, "described Catholic nunneries as either prisons or brothels." Hereupon Lord Arundel and Surrey called him to order, and the same Speaker decided that those expressions were not inconsistent with the freedom of debate. That was not all. Drummond declared that Cardinal Wiseman and the Jesuits were Thugs. A Thug was a man who committed murder to get a living, but these men committed murder as an act of worship. This was too extravagant even for the House, and he was merely laughed at. But presently he spoke of "a cargo of blinking statues, bleeding pictures, liquefying blood, and the Virgin Mary's milk." The Catholic members had remained quiet up to this, but here was something too gross, and a disgraceful scene ensued.

Mr. Drummond was called to order by an Irish member. The Speaker "begged honourable

members not to interrupt the regularity of this debate." But this partisanship was not allowed to pass unchallenged. John O'Connell moved the adjournment of the House, and was reprimanded by the impartial Speaker. Mr. Moore said such language "was not merely disrespectful to Catholic members, but was out of order in any Christian assembly." He too was ruled out of order; still Drummond could not get on. Mr. Grattan, a Protestant Irishman, moved that the words be taken down. The Speaker said he also was wrong, and in the end Drummond succeeded. The debate proceeded, and he was able to say that he had not been even reprimanded.

In this place I beg to call the reader's attention to a passage in the account of Mr. Lucas's death, where a writer who knew Lucas very intimately remarks on his readiness to find excuses where palliation was scarcely possible. He did so in this case.

While describing the incident as one absolutely unparalleled, so far as his recollection went, in the beastliest periods of the French Revolution, and the insult itself as partly a blasphemy and partly a charge that the female relations of sixty or seventy members of Parliament were prostitutes living or educated in brothels, he characterised Mr. Drummond as a "filthy person." There was no room so far for any palliation. Nor was there in the conduct of the House itself, which, by its cheers and defence of Mr. Drummond, made

itself his accomplices. Nor would the ordinary reader say that the Speaker was any better than the worst of his coadjutors. Nevertheless, after giving the scene in detail, Lucas finds an excuse for him personally, albeit at the expense of the House itself. He proceeds: "Now upon all this we have to remark, that we do not wish to speak harshly of the Speaker, because we know that it is not always easy to make the general rules square with a particular case, but there certainly does seem a discrepancy between the decisions given in the Anstey and Drummond incidents. We are not quite sure that we understand the spirit of this exquisite decision. If we understand it aright, it is out of order to call an hon. member a scoundrel, but it is in order to call his sister a harlot. You may not say that Lord John is contemptible, but you may say that Lady John is a street-walker. The House of Commons, it seems, is a house of gentlemen, and has a dignity to preserve, but both its dignity and gentility are of a very peculiar kind. Neither of these things is in any way offended by coarse sarcasms against religion or the filthiest ribaldry against the honour of women. If these outrages had been at variance with the notions entertained in Parliament of dignity and decorum, Mr. Drummond would have been out of order; but he was not out of order because the majority of the House do not stand upon such trifles, and have tastes as foul and as filthy as himself."

The kind of treatment above mentioned did not promote the progress of the Bill. When the Easter recess arrived, it had barely passed the second reading. Lucas thought the interval should be made use of by the Irish members to organise an effective system of obstruction. In this all but the time-serving Catholics of this country agreed with him. The most fastidious found nothing reprehensible, as far as I can discover, in the recommendations given. They were carried out, not exactly, to be sure, but with so near an approach to perfection that the Bill did not receive the royal assent till the very last days of the session. It does not appear that the Government considered it necessary to propose any new rules for the regulation of debates.

Lucas's advice was given in these words: "We humbly submit to the Irish members that it is their special business to organise, to give the progress of this Bill through committee a more formidable opposition than they have yet put forward. We hear a good deal of pretended unwillingness to obstruct public business. But we tell the Irish members that, so long as this infamous Bill of persecution remains before the House, their constituents know nothing of any public business but the business of obstruction. Whether taxes are voted—whether Mutiny Acts are passed—whether Appropriation Bills get the due number of readings—how the Colonies are governed—what becomes of the much longed-for reforms of the law,

the burthens on land, the duties on paper, the taxes on knowledge—of these and a hundred other matters that might be suggested, the Catholic constituencies know nothing so long as this Bill of pains and penalties remains upon the table of the House of Commons, or, being enacted, remains unrepealed.

"The business of the Irish members during the recess is to prepare and arrange every possible form and variety of amendment, and to be prepared, every member of them, to speak on every amendment."

Lord Clarendon and the Government at large writhed under Lucas's lash. Writing to Lord Shrewsbury, who was in Rome, in a letter dated 20th December 1850, but which only came to light in the following April, Lord Clarendon said that "Mr. Lucas, editor of one of the most virulent and most offensive newspapers in Europe, was the chief instigator, as his paper was the chief organ, of the Tenant League, the object of which was to abolish the rights of property and to shake to its very foundation everything on which society depends." He "attaches much importance to articles in the *Ami*, the *Univers*, and the *Tablet*, because it is known they speak with authority, and that they have explained without reserve the full scope and signification of the Pontifical measure."

The Bill was opposed by the Young England party, and to some extent by Mr. Gladstone; but

more effectively by John Bright. The latter remarked that the Queen had no power to make Catholic bishops, and that the making of them by the only authority that had, could be no invasion of the supremacy of the Crown. He said further, that nobody was in favour of the Bill but Lord John, and that even his colleagues gave different accounts of it. At length it passed, and from that day it was a dead letter.

CHAPTER IV.

AN ACTION AT LAW—EFFECT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ACT — MEATH ELECTION — THE CORRUPTIONISTS TILL THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

TOWARDS the end of the year 1851 Lucas had to defend an action for libel, in which he was mulcted of some five hundred pounds. The facts were as follows :—

A libellous paragraph had been inserted in the *Tablet* reflecting on the conduct towards her tenants of a certain Mrs. Dopping. This insertion was altogether unknown to the editor. As soon as he heard of it, he hastened to apologise, sent the lady fifty copies of the *Tablet* containing the apology, and engaged a process-server to distribute other copies throughout the whole district. This, however, did not suit the attorney in the case, and the action was tried, with the result mentioned. Lucas commented upon it in a humorous article. He remarks that now, he supposes, he is free of the country. He has been tried, according to the manner prevalent there, by a packed jury and a judge whose charge was more effective than the speeches of counsel for the plaintiff; but he does not see what he has got

in exchange for the bill sent into him by the jury. Certainly not the malicious pleasure of hurting the plaintiff's feelings, for he had no such pleasure; and if he could have her and her friends all roasted alive to-morrow he would not give twopence for the entertainment. Or if he thought any of the damages would go into the plaintiff's pocket or do her any good, it would partially—only very partially—reconcile him to the loss of the money. Then as to the "justice" of the case, the apology had been far more widely circulated than the libel, but the attorney's instructions or "line of thought" led him to the conclusion that exposure in court and heavy damages would be the justest mode of reparation. The defendant, however, confesses that the verdict caused him no surprise; especially as he had watched the old gentleman in the jury-box with one foot in the grave whose public spirit had made him spend ten or twelve hours in a crowded court with a muffler round his neck. And again, when the jury retired to take a pinch of snuff before pronouncing their verdict, he had marked the deep sympathy with which another of them inquired kindly as to the amount of defendant's income. He parted from the business, he said, "with a very limited amount of irritation against any of the parties, judge, jury, plaintiff, her friends, or her attorney. God knows what is best for us in this world, and the most vivid impression on his mind is that he is now free of the country. He feels

like a landsman crossing the "Line" for the first time; the ceremonies are not generally relished by those against whom they are directed, but he understands that the most unsavoury part of them may be commuted for by a money payment. Here there is a difference; here the payment is the chief part of the business; the chief part of the ceremonies is not commuted for, but completed by, the payment. He hopes that in one respect the resemblance may hold good. Once free of the high seas you are free for ever; this is so fair a rule that he trusts it may be observed in the present case. Having been mulcted of about £500 for nothing that he can understand but the honour of paying his footing in the island, he hopes to find that he is free of it for ever, and that, like measles and smallpox, the visitation will not come upon him a second time."

In the end, the action cost Lucas little or nothing. The expense was defrayed by a subscription spontaneously raised, and the trouble more than compensated by a letter from Dr. Cullen, who put the true cause of the proceedings on the real ground, viz., a desire to injure the *Tablet.*

It is now time to direct the reader's attention to some of the effects of the recent legislation.

The Ecclesiastical Titles agitation was accompanied by, and led to, consequences which affected the whole of Lucas's future life, and finally to the writing of the "Statement" prepared for Pius IX.

It had turned attention from the active pursuit of the Tenant-Right movement, but it had produced an important effect in a new direction—an effect which Lucas thought would be favourable to the movement. It had detached from the Whigs a certain number of Catholic members, who required some very strong inducement to unloose the ties by which they were bound to that treacherous faction. It tended also to bring about what had never ceased to be Lucas's great aim, namely, a real union between the Catholics of both countries. When, therefore, it was proposed to found a Catholic Defence Association of Great Britain and Ireland, he entered warmly into the project. The Young Ireland party in the Tenant League threw cold water on the scheme, because, among other reasons, they had no confidence in the projectors of it. But Lucas urged in its favour that the only chance of success for the League was to have in Parliament a third party, a party of Independent Opposition, who should hold the balance of power, and who, keeping their attention fixed on their own interests alone, should obstruct boldly, play off one of the great parties against the other, and know nothing whatever of the most pressing imperial requirements till justice, whether to Catholic soldiers, sailors, paupers, prisoners, or Bishops in England, or to tenants and the poor in Ireland, was conceded. Indeed, the more urgent the imperial necessities, the more convenient would they be as fulcrums, and, by consequence,

the more powerful would be the leverage for raising a weight which it was impossible to move by any other process. The Defence Association, then, was formed, and included on its committee and among its members Cardinal Wiseman, Dr. Cullen Primate of all Ireland, many English and most of the Irish Bishops, a large array of the nobility and commoners of both islands, and the party of obstructives in the House. The requisition calling for the establishment of the Association filled about a dozen double columns of the *Tablet*. The most active men in the business were, either directly or indirectly, William Keogh and John Reynolds, who had led the parliamentary opposition to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.

Though Lucas advocated the plan, he was not taken into the confidence of the leaders, who had their own ends to serve. With such persons Lucas was not at home, and the antagonistic feeling was mutual. He was, however, in some communication more or less confidential with Dr. Cullen, who was, he thought, playing a genuine part. The meeting to resolve on the foundation of the Association was held on the 19th of August 1851, and was to all outward seeming a brilliant success. The formation of the Association was to be the beginning of actual work; the members had combined for more than talk, and the result was looked forward to with great hope. The policy of Independent Opposition on a large scale was then inaugurated for the first time under the

presidency of Dr. Cullen. The emancipation of Catholics from the toils and snares of Whiggery was confidently predicted. The Primate, comparing Whig persecution with that of Julian the Apostate, described it as worse than open violence; said that the only hope of Catholics, "under Providence," was in the formation of an Independent party in Parliament,[1] and altogether delivered a speech reassuring to men of Lucas's views. So that, though he was excluded from all part in the proceedings, except the being present, he did not suspect the course Dr. Cullen would take. I do not know whether this argues too great simplicity in one so much accustomed as he was to deal with men of all sorts; but it must be admitted that others fancied they always detected something concealed in the Primate's mind, something held back, something, as they said, "behind his eye," something that told of an *arrière pensée* when they looked him fairly in the face in conversation.

But Lucas perceived nothing of this, and naturally wished to see him made President of the Association. No public step was taken till October, when the first meeting of the Association was held and the general committee appointed. From this too Lucas's name was excluded, an attempt being even made to prevent all persons connected with the press from becoming members

[1] *Vide* references to this speech in the Statement, chap. vi. vol. ii.

of the Association. The Primate was not to be President. At this point Lucas took serious alarm, and by way of bringing the true state of affairs fairly before the public, he, on 25th October, published an article on "Log Rolling," in which he plainly intimated his belief that Keogh, Sadleir, Reynolds, and the rest of the "Brigade," as they began to be called, would betray the cause.[1]

The old year, 1851, passed away, and the grand Association had done nothing. Lucas called attention in detail to matters upon which it was bound to act, and on which it should give its mandate to the members of Parliament. These included the disestablishment of the Irish Church; the law regarding Catholic bequests, which were threatened by the report of a Mortmain Committee; the question of proselytism out of doors and in the workhouses; the national system of education; regimental schools and the religious rights of soldiers and sailors; the treatment of emigrants; the land question; the coming elections, and other important matters. Here, then, was a man who had all these questions at his fingers' ends refused admission to the Council of the Association which was to procure their redress—a man of whom Dr. Cullen could say, in the above-mentioned letter dated the 4th January, enclosing a cheque towards the expenses in the Dopping action :—

[1] *Vide* Statement, Book iii., vol. ii.

"Your services to Ireland have been invaluable. You have never failed to stand forward to protect our poor and to assert the rights of our country without urging us on to anarchy and sedition; and when any religious question was to be discussed, you always endeavoured to put it on its true basis, and to take a truly Catholic view of it. Hence it is that every enemy of Ireland and of her ancient faith hates you most cordially; but you may be proud when you reflect that it was only by honesty and sincerity of purpose that you merited their hatred."

Meanwhile, the pretended defenders of Catholic interests did absolutely nothing.

Lucas again went over to London for the opening of Parliament, and watched closely the proceedings of the "Brigade," which were more than suspicious. A vacancy had occurred in the representation of Kildare. At first the "Brigade" proposed Mr. William Cogan, who was a personal friend of their own; but finding, as they thought, more to be got out of the Tories, who came into office before the election, they turned round and supported Lord Naas, who was a Conservative.

As the time for the general election of 1852 approached, Lucas gave the constituencies advice of a practical kind, namely, that each should be prepared with the best man it could find and make the best use it could of him. There would, he said, be many unreliable men, men whom you would dislike for various reasons, whom it would be necessary to watch narrowly; who should be by no means driven with a loose rein lest they tumble you into a ditch; who would certainly take

you down the wrong road if you drove in the dark and went to sleep on the journey. It was, he said, no time for being fastidious. There are many men whom you must select who are hateable with a perfect hatred. But "there is small choice in rotten apples," and you must throw over your personal friend if he be not the most able and willing to forward the attainment of your objects. In founding a party it is of the first importance that its earliest traditions should be as direct and honest as possible. It must then be nothing of a family party; there should be in it, not discordant but independent voices and judgments, each able to exercise over the conduct of fellow-members an active and incessant censorship. Take Mr. Roebuck, for instance; too waspish, self-opinionated, and contemptuous to work steadily with any party, yet was he a very valuable member, being ever ready to speak unpalatable truths. Such a leaven Lucas would like to see in the Irish party. How then should you treat candidates? Should you exact from them pledges? Some objected to pledges. There was indeed much confusion of mind on the subject. With an honest man you are satisfied when you have his opinion, not on vague generalities, but on particular concrete measures or applied principles. On the other hand, with a man you only half know, whom you suspect to be more slippery than is convenient, you ask for distinct pledges, tying him down as strongly as words, promises, and

whatever remnant of character he may still have undestroyed can tie him down.

Here were two direct references to Sadleir, the Scullys, and Keogh. The family party to be dreaded was that of the Sadleirs and Scullys; the man with the remnant of a character was Keogh. Sadleir did not quite relish the comments of the *Tablet*, and wrote to the *Cork Reporter* a letter addressed to Mr. Lucas expressing his "regret, for Mr. Lucas's own sake," that he should adopt such a course. "Quite so," said Lucas, "he regrets. We don't doubt it; and for our sake too! Precisely! That is why he wrote to the Cork paper and not direct to the editor of the *Tablet*."

Acting on the principle laid down, the editor of the *Tablet* advocated the cause of Gavan Duffy, who was contesting New Ross with Sir Thomas Redington, a Catholic, but a supporter of the Whigs during the late session—the "slave of Pontius Pilate," as Lucas denominated him. "There are," said he, "many things in Mr. Duffy's writings from which we dissent, and of which we have not failed to express our warm disapproval. Nevertheless, Mr. Duffy ought to have a seat in the House."

Lucas continued to labour without ceasing at the formation of an Independent party, consisting of men who would not take place for themselves, their friends, or their connections; who would lead a "life of hard public service, of austere duty and

self-denial; days and nights, weeks and months, spent in advancing the interests of the country without a thought of self, or private interest, or personal aggrandisement in any shape whatever."

He rejected altogether the notion of a candidate pledging himself to vote or abstain with the majority of his party, many of whom were unknown, and of whom the more active were notorious rogues. He pointed out how an independent party could have a veto on the selection of a Minister, and he implored the popular local leaders to take all this into consideration in time for the impending election.

The time was now approaching for Lucas himself to enter Parliament. At a meeting held at Navan in the previous year he had been selected as one of the candidates for Meath, and the selection was now unanimously confirmed. In this business he narrowly missed having a very undesirable companion in Mr. Serjeant Shee, who had been chosen also, but declined to leave his native city, Kilkenny. Mention of this gentleman will recur hereafter. The conference determined to return Lucas free of expense, and his address to the electors appeared on the 15th May 1852.

Meantime a packed Committee on Crime and Outrage had been sitting at Westminster with closed doors. Before this committee the law-officers and advisers of the Crown had made charges, the object of which was to implicate the

clerical and lay members of the Tenant League in the crime of systematic assassination.

Lucas resented this charge, and wrote for an explanation to Mr. Napier, the chairman of the committee. That gentleman complained that the evidence had got into circulation before the blue book was published, and said he could not enter into an explanation without "a disregard of the honourable understanding among members who serve on parliamentary committees." My brother replied in a letter which could hardly be pleasant reading to the recipient, and in an article on the subject he exposed the "unscrupulous and ferocious lying with which Mr. Napier's witnesses (as well as himself) have striven to make out a case against the Catholic clergy." The *Times*, of course, justified Napier, and told Lucas that the proper place in which to defend his character would be at the bar of a court of law. Lucas replied that his own character did not require defence, and that he was not at all sensitive; but hundreds of other innocent persons were not so hardened as himself, and he promised that the matter should be sifted in due time. At present there was no occasion to be in a hurry.

The Defence Association inserted an advertisement in the papers advising the Meath men not to elect Frederick Lucas. The priests by way of reply called a meeting at Kells, to which they invited their chosen candidate. He was met at Navan by a large body of the leading

clergy and popular laity, and conducted to Kells amidst great enthusiasm. Here he delivered an eloquent and humourous speech, in which, among many other things, he characterised the House to which they proposed to send him as "a very nasty House," which required for its identification no further description. It was a House which starved the poor and made those poor whose industry had made them rich; which, by the bad laws it enacted, and the worse administration of them which it sanctioned, had made beggars of the wealthy farmers, had filled the graves and workhouses, and had covered the land with desolation; a House which could not proceed to business without blaspheming the holiest truths of the Catholic religion; a House within the order of whose business it had been decided to be to cover with the filthiest and most brutal calumnies the clergy and the venerable women who devoted their lives in retirement to the education of children and the promotion of religion. It called itself an assembly of gentlemen, but its conduct and language would too often disgrace the lowest and most reprobate of the population. And he gave Drummond and Spooner notice that, if they proceeded to repeat their insults in his presence, he should not be content with any mere defence, but would establish, out of their own books, out of their own mouths and confessions, charges ten thousand times worse than any they dared to bring against

Catholics. This hint those amiable gentlemen took seriously to heart. They did not provoke him.

About a month later, at a great meeting in Slane, Mr. Lucas attacked the Derby Government for their conduct in regard to some riots at Stockport, in which Catholics had been murdered, Catholic houses and churches wrecked, and the most horrible sacrileges committed. A clause in the Emancipation Act of 1829 forbids the marching of Catholic processions through the streets; but this clause had never been insisted on; it had been a dead letter. Nevertheless, early in June a proclamation against such processions was issued by Lord Derby and Mr. Walpole, the Home Secretary, who, when questioned about the enforcement of a law that was never meant to be and never had been used, declared that it was not a dormant law. To this Lucas replied by quoting particulars of a dozen cases during the Tory Administration in 1843–44 in which Catholic processions had been held without the slightest risk to the peace of the localities, and by declaring that in fact, the law had never been enforced. Every impartial person saw that its enforcement on the present occasion was a piece of electioneering tactics. The *Chronicle* predicted, and the *Times* gloated over the prospect of, violence arising out of it. Accordingly, on the 29th June a procession at Stockport, which had passed off quietly and without the slightest disturbance, was made the pre-

text for the riot above mentioned, which began at eight o'clock at night and lasted till three o'clock next morning. Two persons were brutally killed by the mob, and two hundred wounded; at one presbytery a library worth £800 and an organ worth £400 were destroyed, every bench in the church was broken, the altar demolished, and the Blessed Sacrament taken away. The priest's bed and bedding were burned, and not a chair, table, or piece of crockery left whole.

Such was the foreseen result of the proclamation. It was only four days after this that the Slane meeting was held. In the course of his speech Lucas delivered a most powerful philippic against Lord Derby and Mr. Walpole, whom he accused of a conscious and deliberate disregard of truth.

The election campaign lasted till the 26th July, on which day my brother was declared duly elected by 2004 votes, against 565 polled by his opponent, Mr. Grattan.

The same *Tablet* which gave these figures contained also a copy of a letter from Lucas to the *Freeman's Journal* on the subject of a gross attack made upon him by John Reynolds of the "Brigade," whose election had been strongly advocated in the *Tablet* for more than three months prior to the date of polling. Reynolds had been beaten by his Tory opponents in Dublin in the proportion of two to one. Lucas was then prosecuting his own canvas in Meath, and thus

prevented from voting for him; for this omission he was assailed in opprobrious terms, Reynolds denouncing him to a crowded assembly as a "scoundrel and a liar." I call particular attention to this, because the circumstance was so public that it can hardly have escaped the notice of Dr. Cullen. The reader will bear the fact in mind, and will not forget the highly eulogistic letter of that prelate just quoted.

When the elections were over, it appeared that the Irish party numbered sixty all told.

It would seem as though the old saying, that there is as much pleasure in being cheated as in cheating others, held good with the Irish constituencies at that time. Sadleir and Keogh were before the world in no favourable light, yet their names were received enthusiastically at all meetings. But while they continued to repeat their pledges against taking office under any Government that would not make a Tenant-Right Bill, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland Cabinet questions, they were careful to say that Catholic talent should not be excluded from a new Government. The sham was transparent, but voters' eyes were dim. As for Lucas, he kept the men to their pledges, declaring that he fully agreed with the principles they enunciated. But he saw through them, and they knew it well. So that while he avoided making a single remark that could be considered offensive by any honest man,

they lavished upon him all manner of abusive language. Thus they charged him with having gone to a banquet at Carlow with a secret purpose of exciting disunion, while at the banquet itself they had villified him for a very moderate attack upon Sir James Graham, with whom they were already in treaty to betray the party. Again, at a great meeting in Dublin on the Irish Church question, Keogh made a lengthened attack upon him for the alleged faulty arrangements of the meeting, in having omitted the "memory of O'Connell" from the list of toasts—(it was not omitted)—and for his failure to mention that great man in his speech. Nothing of all this could disturb Lucas's temper. He stuck to his points, repelled in measured terms the Carlow charge; and in commenting on a great Tenant Right conference which was held in Dublin on the 8th September, he congratulated his readers on a unanimity beyond the expectation of the most sanguine. He was glad, he said, to forget whatever of unpleasantness had occurred in the past; and for himself, he retained not the smallest feeling of annoyance, or grudge, or ill-will for anything that had happened. He had made the conspirators pledge themselves more deeply than ever, and that was the utmost he could accomplish. At the conference it was Keogh and his friend Fitzstephen French who used the strongest phrases as to the necessity of universal opposition. On the same occasion the terms of a Tenant

Right Bill, previously agreed to with Mr. Sharman Crawford, were confirmed, and henceforward the pledges of the Independent Oppositionists had reference to this Bill.

In the meantime Dr. Murray, the Whig Archbishop of Dublin, had died, and the independent Dr. Cullen had been translated from Armagh to the Metropolitan See.

How Lucas regarded the events recorded above will be seen in Chapter VI. of the "Statement."

END OF VOL. I.

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